Εικὼν Βασιλικὴ

THE PORTRAICTURE Of His Sacred MAIESTIE IN His Solitudes AND SVFFERINGS.

ROM. 8.

More then Conquerour, &c.

Bona agere, & mala pati, Regium est.

HAGE.
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ERRATA.

Page, 100 line 1 *for* qarrell *read* quarrell.
Page, 126 line 13 *for* Conſiderations *read* Confæderations.
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ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ.

1. *Vpon His* MAJESTIES Calling this Last PARLIAMENT.

THis laſt Parliament I called, not more by others adviſe, and neceſſity of My affaires, then by My owne choice and inclination; who have alwayes thought the right way of Parliaments moſt ſafe for My Crown, and beſt pleaſing to My People: And although I was not forgetfull of thoſe ſparks, which ſome mens diſtempers formerly ſtudied to kindle in Parliaments, (which by forbearing to conveen for ſome yeares, I hoped to have extinguiſhed) yet reſolving with My ſelf to give all juſt ſatisfaction to mo-

deſt and ſober deſires, and to redreſſe all publique grievances in Church and State; I hoped (by My freedom and their moderation) to prevent all miſunderſtandings, and miſcarriages in this: In which as I feared affaires would meet with ſome paſſion & prejudice in other men, ſo I reſolved they ſhould finde leaſt of them in My ſelf; not doubting, but by the weight of Reaſon I ſhould counterpoize the over-ballancings of any factions.

I was, indeed, ſorry to hear, with what partiality and popular heat Elections were carried in many places, yet hoping that the gravity and diſcretion of other Gentlemen would allay and fix the Commons to a due temperament, (guiding ſome mens well-meaning zeall, by ſuch rules of moderation as are beſt both to preſerve and reſtore the health of all States and Kingdomes:) No man was better pleaſed with the conveening of this Parliament, then My ſelf; who knowing beſt the largeneſſe of My own Heart, toward My Peoples good and juſt contentment, pleaſed My ſelf moſt in that good and firm underſtanding, which would hence grow between Me and My People.

All

All Jealousies being laid aside, My own and My Childrens Interests gave me many Obligations to seek and preserve the love and welfare of my Subjects. The onely temporall blessing that is left to the ambition of just Monarchs, as their greatest honour and safety, next Gods protection; I cared not to lessen my self in some things of My wonted Prerogative; since I knew I could be no loser, if I might gain but recompence in my Subjects affections.

I intended not onely to oblige My friends, but Mine enemies also: exceeding even the desires of those, that were factiously discontented, if they did but pretend to any modest and sober sense.

The *odium* and offences which some men's rigour or remisnesse in Church, and State, had contracted upon my Government, I resolved to have expiated by such Lawes, and regulations for the future, as might not only rectifie what was amisse in Practise, but supply what was defective in the Constitution: No man having a greater zeall to see Religion setled, and preserved in Truth, Unity, and Order, then my self; whom it most concernes

both in piety, and policy; as knowing, that No flames of civil dissentions are more dangerous then those which make Religious pretensions the grounds of Factions.

I resolved to reform, what I should by free & full advice in Parliament be convinc'd to be amisse; & to grant whatever My Reason and Conscience told Me, was fit to be desired; I wish I had kept My self within those bounds, & not suffered My own Judgement to have been over-born in some things, more by others Importunities, then their Arguments; My confidence had lesse betrayed My self, and my Kingdomes, to those advantages, which some men sought for, who wanted nothing but power, and occasion to do mischief. But our sinnes being ripe, there was no preventing of Gods Justice, from reaping that glory in our Calamities, which we robb'd him of in our Prosperity.

For thou (O Lord) hast made us see, that Resolutions of future Reforming do not alwayes satisfie thy Justice, nor prevent thy Vengeance for former miscarriages.

Our sinnes have overlaid our hopes:

Thou

Thou haſt taught us to depend on thy mercies to forgive, not on our purpoſe to amend.

When thou haſt vindicated thy glory by thy Judgements, and haſt ſhewed us, how unſafe it is to offend thee, upon preſumptions afterwards to pleaſe thee; Then I truſt thy mercies will reſtore thoſe bleſſings to us, which we have ſo much abuſed, as to force thee to deprive us of them.

For want of timely repentance of our ſinnes, Thou giveſt us cauſe to Repent of thoſe Remedies wee too late apply.

Yet I do not Repent of My calling this laſt Parliament; becauſe, O Lord, I did it with an upright intention, to thy glory, and My Peoples good.

The miſeries which have enſued upon Mee and My Kingdomes, are the Juſt effects of thy diſpleaſure upon us; and may be yet (through thy mercy) preparatives of us to future bleſſings, and better hearts to enjoy them.

O Lord, though thou haſt deprived us of many former comforts; yet grant Me and My People the benefit of our afflictions, and thy chaſtiſements; that thy rod as well as thy ſtaffe may comfort us: Then ſhall we dare to account

them the ſtrokes not of an Enemy, but a Father: when thou giveſt us thoſe humble affections, that meaſure of patience in repentance, which becomes thy Children; I ſhall have no cauſe to repent the miſeries this Parliament hath occaſioned, when by them thou haſt brought Me and My People, unfeignedly to repent of the ſinnes we have committed.

Thy Grace is infinitely better with our ſufferings, then our Peace could be with our ſinnes.

O thou ſovereigne goodneſſe and wiſdom, who over-ruleſt al our counſels; overrule alſo all our hearts; That the worſt things we ſuffer by thy Juſtice, the better we may be by thy Mercy.

As our ſinnes have turned our Antidotes into Poyſon, ſo let thy Grace turn our Poyſons into Antidotes.

As the ſins of our Peace diſpoſed us to this unhappy Warre, ſo let this Warre prepare us for thy bleſſed Peace.

That although I have but troubleſome Kingdoms here, yet I may attaine to the Kingdome of Peace in My Heart, and in thy Heaven, which Chriſt hath purchaſed, and thou wilt give to thy Servant (though a Sinner) for my Saviours ſake.

2. Vpon

2. *Vpon the Earle of* Straffords *death.*

I Looked upon my Lord of *Strafford* as a Gentleman, whose great abilities might make a Prince rather afraid, then ashamed to employ him, in the greatest affaires of State.

For those were prone to create in him great confidence of undertakings, and this was like enough to betray him to great errours, and many enemies: Whereof he could not but contract good store, while moving in so high a spheare, and with so vigorous a lustre, he must needs (as the Sun) raise many envious exhalations, which condensed by a popular *odium*, were capable to cast a cloud upon ỹ brightest merit, and integrity.

Though I cannot in My Iudgment approve all he did, driven (it may be) by the necessities of times, and the Temper of that People, more then led by his owne disposition to any height and rigour of actions: yet I could never be convinced of any such criminousnesse in him, as willingly to expose his life to the stroke of Iustice, and malice of his enemies.

I never met with a more unhappy conjuncture of affaires, then in the busineſſe of that unfortunate Earle: when between My owne unſatisfiedneſſe in Conſcience, and a neceſſity (as ſome told me) of ſatisfying the importunities of ſome people; I was perſwaded by thoſe, that I think wiſhed me well, to chuſe rather what was ſafe, then what ſeemed juſt; preferring the outward peace of My Kingdoms with men, before that inward exactneſſe of Conſcience before God.

And indeed I am ſo farre from excuſing or denying that complyance on My part (for plenary conſent it was not) to his deſtruction, whom in My Judgement I thought not, by any cleare Law, guilty of death: That I never bare any touch of Conſcience with greater regret: which, as a ſigne of My repentance, I have often with ſorrow confeſſed both to God and men, as an act of ſo ſinfull frailty, that it diſcovered more a feare of Man, than of God, whoſe name and place on Earth no man is worthy to beare, who will avoid inconveniences of State, by acts of ſo high injuſtice, as no publique convenience can expiate or compenſate.

I ſee

I see it a bad exchange to wound a mans owne Conscience, thereby to salve State sores, to calme the stormes of popular discontents, by stirring up a tempest in a mans owne bosome.

Nor hath Gods Justice failed in the event and sad consequences, to shew the world the fallacy of that Maxime, *Better one man perish (though unjustly) then the people be displeased, or destroyed.* For,

In all likely hood, I could never have suffred, with My People, greater calamities, (yet with greater comfort) had I vindicated *Strafford's* innocency at least by denying to Signe that destructive BILL, according to that justice, which My conscience suggested to Me, then I have done since I gratified some mens unthankfull importunities with so cruel a Favour. And I have observed, that those, who counselled Me to signe that Bill, have been so farre from receiving the rewards of such ingratiatings with the People, that no men have been harassed and crushed more than they: He onely hath been least vexed by them, who counselled Me, not to consent against the vote of My owne Conscience. I hope God hath forgiven Me and

them, the sinfull rashnesse of that businesse.

To which being in My soule so fully conscious, those Judgements God hath pleased to send upon Me, are so much the more welcome, as a meanes (I hope) which his mercy hath sanctified so to Me, as to make Me repent of that unjust Act, (for so it was to Me) and for the future to teach Me, That the best rule of policy is to preferre the doing of Justice, before all enjoyments, and the peace of My Conscience before the preservation of My Kingdomes.

Nor hath any thing more fortified My resolutions against al those violent importunities, which since have sought to gaine alike consent from Me, to Acts, wherein my Conscience is unsatisfied, then the sharp touches I have had for what passed Me, in My Lord of *Strafford's* Businesse.

Not that I resolved to have employed him in My affaires, against the advise of My Parliament, but I would not have had any hand in his Death, of whose Guiltlesnesse I was better assured, then any man living could be.

Nor were the Crimes objected against him so clear, as after a long and fair

fair hearing to give convincing satisfaction to the Major part of both Houses; especially that of the Lords, of whom scarce a third part were present, when the Bill passed that House: And for the House of Commons, many Gentlemen, disposed enough to diminish My Lord of *Straffords* greatnesse and power, yet unsatisfied of his guilt in law, durst not Condemne him to die: who for their Integrity in their Votes, were by Posting their Names, exposed to the popular calumny, hatred, and fury; which grew then so exorbitant in their clamours *for Justice*, (that is, to have both My selfe and the two Houses Vote, and doe as they would have us) that many (tis thought) were rather terrified to concurre with the condemning party, then satisfied that of right they ought so to doe.

And that after Act vacating the Authority of the precedent, for future imitation, sufficiently tells the world, that some remorse touched even his most implacable enemies, as knowing he had very hard measure; and such as they would be very loath should be repeated to themselves.

This tendernesse and regret I find in

in my soul, for having had any hand (&that very unwillingly God knows) in shedding one mans bloud unjustly, (though under the colour and formalities of Iustice, and pretences of avoyding publick mischeifes) which may (I hope) be some evidence before God and Man, to all Posterity, that I am far from bearing justly the vast load & guilt of all that bloud which hath been shed in this unhappy Warr; which some men will needs charge on *Me*, to ease their own soules, who am, and ever shall be, more afraid to take away any mans life unjustly, then to loose my own.

But thou, O God of infinite mercie, forgive me that act of sinfull compliance, which hath greater aggravations upon Me then any man. Since I had not the least temptation of envy, or malice against him, and by my place should, at least so farre, have been a preserver of him, as to have denied my consent to his destruction.

O Lord, I acknowledge my transgression, and my sinne is ever before me.

Deliver me from bloud guiltinesse O God, thou God of my salvation, and my tongue shall sing of thy righteousnesse.

Against

Against thee have I sinned, and done this evill in thy sight, for thou saweſt the contradiction between my heart and my hand.

Let caſt me not away from thy preſence, purge me with the blood of my Redeemer, and I ſhall be clean; waſh me with that precious effuſion, and I ſhall be whiter then ſnow.

Teach me to learn Righteouſneſſe by thy judgements, and to ſee my frailty in thy juſtice: while I was perſwaded by ſhedding one mans blood to prevent after-troubles, thou haſt for that, among other ſinnes, brought upon me, and upon my Kingdomes, great, long, and heavy troubles.

Make me to preſer juſtice, which is thy will, before contrary clamours, which are but the diſcoveries of mans injurious will.

It is too much that they have once overcome me, to pleaſe them by diſpleaſing thee: O never ſuffer me for any reaſon of State, to go againſt my Reaſon of Conſcience, which is highly to ſin againſt thee, the God of Reaſon, and Judge of our Conſciences.

What ever, O Lord, thou ſeeſt fit to deprive me of, yet reſtore unto me the joy of thy Salvation, and ever uphold

me

me with thy free Spirit; which Subjects my will to none, but thy light of Reason, Iustice and Religion, which shines in my Soul, for Thou desirest Truth in the inward parts, and integrity in the outward expressions.

Lord hear the voice of thy Sons, and my Saviours Blood, which speaks better things; oh make me, and my People, to hear the voice of joy and gladnesse that the bones which thou hast broken, may rejoyce in thy salvation.

3. *Upon His Majesties going to the House of Commons.*

MY going to the House of Commons to demand Justice upon the 5 Members, was an act, which My enemies loaded with all the obloquies and exasperations they could.

It filled indifferent men with great jealousies and feares; yea, and many of My friends resented it, as a motion rising rather from Passion then Reason, and not guided with such discretion, as the touchinesse of those times required.

But

But these men knew not the just motives, and pregnant grounds, with which I thought my self so furnished, that there needed nothing to such evidence, as I could have produced against those I charged, save only a free and legall Triall, which was all I desired.

Nor had I any temptation of displeasure, or revenge against those mens persons, further then I had discovered those (as I thought) unlawfull correspondencies they had used, and engagements they had made, to embroyle my Kingdoms: of all which I missed but little to have produced writings under some mens own hands, who were the chief contrivers of the following innovations.

Providence would not have it so, yet I wanted not such probabilities as were sufficient to raise jealousies in my Kings heart, who is not wholly stupid and neglective of the publick peace, which to preserve by calling in Question half a dozen men, in a fair and legall way (which God knowes was all my design) could have amounted to no worse effect, had it succeeded, then either to do Me, and my Kingdom right, in case they had been

been found guilty ; or elſe to have cleared their Innocency, & removed my ſuſpicions; which, as they were not raiſed out of any malice, ſo neither were they in Reaſon to be ſmothered.

What flames of diſcontent this ſpark (though I ſought by all ſpeedy and poſſible means to quench it) ſoon kindled, all the world is witneſſe: The aſperſion which ſome men caſt upon that action , as if I had deſigned by force to aſſault the Houſe of Commons, and invade their priviledge, is ſo falſe, that as God beſt knows, I had no ſuch intent; ſo none that attended me could juſtly gather from any thing I then ſaid, or did, the leaſt intimation of any ſuch thoughts.

That I went attended with ſome Gentlemen, as it was no unwonted thing for the Majeſty and ſafety of a King, ſo to be attended, eſpecially in diſcontented times ; ſo were my followers at that time ſhort of my ordinary Guard, and no way proportionable to hazard a tumultuary conflict. Nor were they more ſcared at my comming, then I was un-aſſured of not having ſome affronts caſt upon me , if I had none with me to preſerve a reverence to me ; For many people

people had (at that time) learned to think thoſe hard thoughts, which they have ſince abundantly vented againſt me, both by words and deeds.

The ſumme of that buſineſſe was this.

Thoſe men, and their adherents were then looked upon by the affrighted vulgar, as greater protectors of their Lawes and Liberties, then my ſelf, and ſo worthier of their protection. I leave them to God, and their own conſciences, who, if guilty of evill machinations; no preſent impunity, or popular vindications of them will be ſubterfuge ſufficient to refcue them from thoſe exact Tribunals.

To which, in the obſtructions of Juſtice among men, we muſt religiouſly appeal, as being an argument to us Chriſtians of that after un-avoidable judgement, which ſhall rejudge, what among men is but corruptly decided, or not at all.

I endeavoured to have prevented, if God had ſeen fit, thoſe future commotions, which I fore-ſaw, would in all likelyhood follow ſome mens activity (if not reſtrained) and ſo now hath done to the undoing of many thouſands; the more is the pitty.

But to over-awe the freedom of the Houſes, or to weaken their juſt Authority by any violent impreſſion upon them, was not at all my deſign: I thought I had ſo much Juſtice and Reaſon on my ſide, as ſhould not have needed ſo rough aſſiſtance; and I was reſolved rather to bear the repulſe with patience, then to uſe ſuch hazardous extremities.

But thou, O Lord, art my witneſs in heaven, and in my Heart: If I have purpoſed any violence or oppreſſion againſt the Innocent: or if there were any ſuch wickednes in my thoughts.

Then let the enemy perſecute my ſoul, and tread my life to the ground, and lay mine Honour in the duſt.

Thou that ſeeſt not as man ſeeth, but lookeſt beyond all popular appearances, ſearching the heart, and trying the reines, and bringing to light the hidden things of darkneſſe, ſhew thy ſelf.

Let not my afflictions be eſteemed (as with wiſe and godly men they cannot be) any argument of my ſinne, in this matter: more then their Impunity among good men is any ſure token of their Innocency.

But forgive them wherein they have

me amisse, though they are not pu-
shed for it in this world.

Save thy servant from the privy
nspiracies, and open violence of bloo-
and unreasonable men, according to
e u prightnesse of my heart, and the
nocency of my hands in this matter.

Plead my cause, and maintain my
ght, O thou that sittest in the Thron,
dging rightly, that thy servant may
er rejoyce in thy salvation.

4. *Upon*

4. *Vpon the Insolency of the Tumults.*

I Never thought any thing (except our sins) more ominously presaging all these mischiefes, which have followed, then those Tumults in *London* and *Westminster*, soone after the Convening of this Parliament; which were not like a storm at Sea, (which yet wants not its terror) but like an Earthquake, shaking the very foundation of all; then which nothing in the world hath more of horrour.

As it is one of the most convincing Arguments that there is a God, while his power sets bounds to the raging of the Sea: so tis no lesse, that he restraines the Madnesse of the People. Nor doth any thing portend more God displeasure against a Nation, then when he suffers the confluence and clamours of the vulgar, to passe all boundaries of Lawes, and reverence to Authority.

Which those Tumults did to so high degrees of insolence, that they spared not to invade the Honour and Free-dom

ome of the two Houſes, menacing, eproaching, ſhaking, yea, and aſſaul- ing ſome Members of both Houſes, s hey fancyed, or diſliked them: Nor id they forbear moſt rude and un- eemly deportments both in contemp- uous words and actions, to My ſelfe nd My Court.

Nor was this a ſhort fit or two of haking, as an ague, but a quotidian eaver, alwaies encreaſing to higher nflamations, impatient of any mitiga- on, reſtraint, or remiſſion.

Firſt, they muſt be a guard againſt hoſe feares, which ſome men ſcared hemſelves and others withall; when deed nothing was more to be fea- d and leſſe to be uſed by wiſe men, hen thoſe tumultuary confluxes of eane and rude people, who are ught firſt to petition, then to pro- ſt, then to dictate, at laſt, to com- and and overawe the Parliament.

All obſtructions in Parliament (that all freedome of differing in Votes, d debating matters with reaſon and ndour) muſt be taken away with eſe Tumults; By theſe muſt the ouſes be purged, and all rotten mem- rs (as they pleaſed to count them) ſtout: By theſe the obſtinacy of

men resolved to discharge their Consciences must be subdued, by these all factious, seditious, and schismaticall propoſalls against Government Ecclesiasticall or Civil, must be backed & abetted, till they prevailed.

Generally, who ever had most mind to bring forth confusion and ruine upon Church and State, used the midwifery of those Tumults: whose riot and impatience was such, that they would not stay the ripening and season of Counsels, or fair production of Acts in the order, gravity, and deliberateneſſe besitting a Parliamẽt but ripped up with barbarous cruelty and forcibly cut out abortive Votes such as their Inviters and Incouragers most fancyed.

Yea, so enormous & deteſtable were their outrages, that no sober man could be without an infinite shame & sorrow to see them so tolerated, and connived at by some, countenanced incouraged, and applauded by others.

What good man had not rather want any thing he most desired, for the Publique good, then obtaine it by such unlawfull & irreligious meanes? But mens passions and Gods directions seldome agree; violent desig-

ne

nes and motions must have sutable engines, such as too much attend their owne ends, seldome confine themselves to Gods meanes. Force must crowd in what Reason will not lead.

Who were the chief Demagogues and Patrones of Tumults, to send for them, to flatter and embolden them, to direct and tune their clamorous importunities, som men yet living are too conscious to pretend ignorance: God in his due time will let these see, that those were no fit meanes to be used for attaining his ends.

But, as it is no strange thing for the Sea to rage, when strong winds blow upon it; so neither for Multitudes to become insolent, when they have Men of some reputation for parts and piety to set them on.

That which made their rudenesse most formidable, was, that many Complaints being made, and Messages sent by My selfe and some of both Houses; yet no order for redresse could be obtained with any vigour & efficacy, proportionable to the maligity of that now far-spread disease, and predominant mischiefe.

Such was some mens stupidity, that they feared no inconvenience; Others

lancy, that they joyed to see their betters shamefully outraged, and abused, while they knew their only security consisted in vulgar flattery: So insensible were they of Mine, or the two Houses common safety and Honours.

Nor could ever any Order be obtained, impartially to examine, censure, and punish the knowne Boutefeus, and impudent Incendiaries, who boasted of the influence they had, and used to convoke those Tumults as their advantages served.

Yea, some (who should have been wiser States-men) owned them as friends, commending their Courage, Zeale, and Industry; which to sober men could seem no better then that of the Devil, who *goes about seeking whom he may* deceive, and *devoure*.

I confesse, when I found such a deafnesse, that no Declaration from the Bishops, who were first insolenced and assaulted; nor yet from other Lords and Gentlemen of Honour; nor yet from My self could take place for the due repression of these Tumults; and securing not onely Our freedome in Parliament, but Our very Persons in the streets; I thought My selfe not bound by My presence, to provoke

provoke them to higher boldneſſe & contempts; I hoped by My withdrawing to give time, both for the ebbing of their tumultuous fury, and others regaining ſome degrees of modeſty and ſober ſenſe.

Some may interpret it as an effect of Puſillanimity in any man for popular terrours to deſert his publique ſtation. But I think it a hardineſſe, beyond true valour, for a wiſe man to ſet himſelf againſt the breaking in of a Sea; which to reſiſt, at preſent, threatens imminent danger; but to withdraw, gives it ſpace to ſpend its fury, and gaines a fitter time to repaire the breach. Certainly a Gallant man had rather fight to great diſadvantages for number and place in the field, in an orderly way, then skuffle with an undiſciplined rabble.

Some ſuſpected and affirmed that I meditated a Warre, (when I went from *Whitehall* onely to redeem my Perſon, & Conſcience from violence) God knowes I did not then think of a Warre. Nor will any prudent man conceive that I would by ſo many former, and ſome after Acts, have ſo much weakned my ſelfe, if I had purpoſed to engage in a Warre, which

to decline by all meanes, I denyed my ſelf in ſo many particulars: 'Tis evident I had then no Army to flie unto, for protection, or vindication.

Who can blame Me, or any other, for a withdrawing our ſelves from the daily baitings of the Tumults, not knowing whether their fury and diſcontent might not flie ſo high, as to worry and teare thoſe in pieces, whom as yet they but played with in their pawes? God, who is My ſole Iudge, is my Witneſſe in Heaven, that I never had any thoughts of going from my Houſe at *Whitehall*, if I could have had but any reaſonable faire Quarter; I was reſolved to beare much, and did ſo, but I did not think my ſelf bound to proſtitute the Majeſty of my Place and Perſon, the ſafety of my Wife and Children, to thoſe, who are prone to inſult moſt, when they have objects and opportunity moſt capable of their rudeneſſe and petulancy.

But this buſineſſe of the Tumults (whereof ſome have given already an account to God, others yet living know themſelves deſperately guilty) Time and the guilt of many hath ſo ſmothered up, and buried, that I think it beſt to leave it, as it is; only I believe the

the just Avenger of all disorders, will in time make those men, and that City, see their sinne in the glasse of their punishment. 'T is more then an even lay that they may one day see themselves punished by that way they offended.

Had this Parliament, as it was in its first Election and Constitution, sate full and free, the Members of both Houses being left to their freedome of Voting, as in all reason, honour, and Religion, they should have been; I doubt not but things would have been so carried, as would have given no lesse content to all good men, then they wished or expected.

For, I was resolved to heare reason in all things, and to consent to it so farre as I could comprehend it: but as Swine are to Gardens and orderly Plantations, so are Tumults to Parliaments, and Plebeian concourses to publique Councels, turning all into disorders and sordid confusions.

I am prone sometimes to think, That had *I* called this Parliament to any other place in *England* (as *I* might opportunely enough have done) the sad consequences in all likelyhood, with Gods blessing, might have been pre-

prevented. A Parliament would have been well come in any place; no place afforded such confluence of various and vitious humours, as that where it was unhappily convened.

But we must leave all to God, who orders our disorders, and magnifies his wisedome most, when our follies and miseries are most discovered.

But thou O Lord art My refuge and defence, to thee I may safely flie, who rulest the raging of the Sea, and the madnesse of the People.

The floods, O Lord, the floods are come in upon me, and are ready to overwhelme me.

I looke upon My sinnes, and the sinnes of My people, (which are the tumults of our soules against thee O Lord) as the just cause of these popular inundations which thou permittest to overbeare all the banks of Loyalty, Modesty, Lawes, Justice, and Religion.

But thou that gatheredst the waters into one place, and madest the dry land to appeare, and after didst asswage the flood which drowned the world, by the word of thy power; Rebuke these beasts of the people, and deliver Me from the rudenesse and strivings of the multitude.

Restore

Restore, we beseech thee, unto us, the freedomes of our Councels and Parliaments, make us unpassionately to see the light of Reason, and Religion, and with all order, and gravity to follow it, as it becomes Men and Christians; so shall we praise thy Name, who art the God of Order and Counsell.

What man cannot, or will not represse, thy Omnipotent Justice can and will.

O *Lord, give them that are yet living, a timely sense and sorrow for their great sinne, whom thou knowest guilty of raising or not suppressing those disorders: Let shame here, and not suffering hereafter be their punishment.*

Set bounds to our passions by Reason, to our errours by Truth, to our seditions by Lawes duely executed, & to our Schismes by Charity, that we may be, as thy Jerusalem, *a City at unity in it selfe.*

This grant, O My God, in thy good time for Iesus Christs sake, Amen.

5. *Upon His Majesties passing the Bill for the Trien-*

Trienniall Parliaments: And after setling this, during the pleasure of the two Houses.

THat the world might bee fully confirmed in My purposes at first, to contribute, what in Iustice, Reason, Honour, and Conscience, I could, to the Happy successe of this Parliament, (which had in me no other design but the Generall good of My Kingdomes) I willingly passed the *BILL* for Trienniall Parliaments: which, as gentle and seasonable Physick, might (if well applied) prevent any distempers from getting any head or prevailing; especially, if the remedy proved not a disease beyond all remedy.

I conceived, this Parliament would find work with convenient recesses for the first three Years; But I did not imagine that some men would thereby have occasioned more work then they found to do, by undoing so much as they found well done to their hands. Such is some mens

mens activity that they will needs make work rather then want it; and chuſe to be doing amiſſe, rather then do nothing.

When that firſt Act ſeemed too ſcanty to ſatisfie ſome mens fears, and compaſſe publique affaires; I was perſwaded to grant that *BILL* of Sitting during the pleaſure of the Houſes, which amounted in ſome mens ſenſe to as much as the perpetuating this Parliament. By this Act of higheſt confidence, I hoped for ever to ſhut out, and lock the door upon all preſent jealouſies, & future miſtakes: I confeſſe I did not thereby intend to ſhut my ſelf out of doors, as ſome men have now requited me.

True, It was an Act unparalell'd by any of my Predeceſſours; yet cannot in reaſon admit of any worſe interpretation then this, of an extream confidence I had, that My Subjects would not make ill uſe of an Act, by which I declared ſo much to truſt them, as to deny my ſelf in ſo high a point of My Prerogative.

For good Subjects wil never think juſt or fit that my condition ſhould be worſe by my bettering theirs: Nor indeed would it have been ſo in the events,

events, if some men had known as well with moderation to use, as with earnestnesse to desire advantages of doing good, or evill.

A continuall Parliament (I thought) would keep the Common-weal in tune, by preserving Lawes in their due execution and vigour, wherein My interest lies more than any mans, since by those Lawes, my Rights as a KING, would be preserved no lesse than my Subjects; which is all I desired. More than the Law gives me I would not have, and lesse, the meanest Subject should not.

Some (as I have heard) gave it out, that I soon repented me of that setling Act: and many would needs perswade me, I had cause so to do; but I could not easily nor suddenly suspect such ingratitude in men of Honour. That, the more I granted them, the lesse I should have, and enjoy with them. I still counted my self undiminished by my largest concessions, if by them I might gain and confirm the love of my People.

Of which, I do not yet dispair, but that God will still blesse me with increase of it: when men shall have more leisure, and lesse prejudice; that

that so with unpassionate representations they may reflect upon those, (as I think) not more princely then friendly contributions, which I granted towards the perpetuating of their happinesse, who are now onely miserable in this, That some mens ambition will not give them leave to enjoy what I intended for their good.

Nor do I doubt, but that in Gods due time, the Loyall and cleared affections of my people will strive to return such retributions of Honour, and Love to me, or my Posterity, as may fully compensate both the acts of my confidence in, & my sufferings for them; which (God knowes) have been neither few, nor small, nor short; occasioned chiefly by a perswasion I had, that I could not grant too much, or distrust too little, to men, that being professedly my Subjects, pretended singular piety, and religious strictnesse.

The injury of all injuries is, That which some men will needs load me withall; as if *I* were a wilfull and resolved Occasioner of my own and my subjects miseries; while (as they confidently, but (God knowes) falsly divulge) *I* repining at the establishment

of this Parliament, endeavoured by force & open hostility to undo what by my Royall assent I had done. Sure it had argued a very short sight of things, and extream fatuity of mind in me, so farre to bind my own hands at their request, if I had shortly meant to have used a Sword against them. (God knows,) though I had then a sense of injuries; yet not such as to think them worth vindicating by a War: I was not then compelled as since, to injure my self by their not using favours, with the same candour wherewith they were conferred. The Tumults indeed threatned to abuse all Acts of Grace, and turn them into wantonnesse; but I thought at length their own fears, whose black arts first raised up those turbulent spirits would force them to conjure them down again.

Nor if I had justly resented any indignities put upon me, or others, was I then in any capacity to have taken just revenge in an Hostile and War like way upon those, whom I knew so well fortified in the love of the meaner sort of the people, that I could not have given my enemies greater, and more desired advantage

againſt me, then by ſo unprincely inconſtancy, to have aſſaulted them with Armes, thereby to ſcatter them, whom but lately I had ſolemnly ſetled by an Act of Parliament.

God knows *I* longed for nothing more then that my ſelf, and my Subjects might quietly enjoy the fruits of My many condeſcendings.

It had been a courſe full of ſin, as well as of Hazard, and diſhonour for me to go about the cutting up of that by the Sword, which *I* had ſo lately planted, ſo much (as *I* thought) to my Subjects content, and mine own too, in all probability: if ſome men had not feared where no fear was, whoſe ſecurity conſiſted in ſcarring others.

I thank God I know ſo well the ſincerity and uprightneſſe of my own heart, in paſſing that great Bill, which exceeded the very thoughts of former times, That although *I* may ſeem leſſe a Politician to men, yet I need no ſecret diſtinctions or evaſions before God. Nor had *I* any reſervations in my own Soul, when *I* paſſed it; nor repentings after, till *I* ſaw that my letting ſome men go up to the Pinacle of the Temple, was a

temptation to them to cast me down head-long.

Concluding, that without a miracle, monarchy it selfe, together with me, could not but be dashed in pieces, by such a precipitious fall as they intended. Whom God in mercy forgive, and make them see at length, That as many Kingdoms as the Devil shewed our Saviour, and the glory of them, (if they could be at once enjoyed by them) are not worth the gaining, by wayes of sinfull ingratitude and dishonour, which hazards a Soul worth more Worlds then this hath Kingdomes.

But God hath hitherto preserved me, and made me to see, That it is no strange thing for men, left to their owne passions, either to doe much evill themselves, or abuse the over much goodnesse of others, whereof an ungratefull Surfet is the most desperate and incurable disease.

I cannot say properly that I repent of that Act, since I have no reflexion upon it as a sin of my will, though an error of too charitable a judgement. Onely I am sorry other mens eyes should be evill, because mine were good.

To Thee (O my God) doe I still appeale, whose All-discerning Iustice sees through all the disguises of mens pretensions, and deceitfull darknesses of their hearts.

Thou gavest me a heart to grant much to My Subjects; and now, I need a Heart fitted to suffer much from some of them.

Thy will be done, though never so much to the crossing of ours, even when we hope to doe what might be most conformable to thine and theirs too, who pretended they aimed at nothing else.

Let thy grace teach me wisely to enjoy as well the frustratings, as the fulfillings of My best hopes, and most specious desires.

I see while I thought to allay others feares, I have raised Mine owne; and by setling them, have unsetled My selfe.

Thus have they requited Me evil for good, and hatred for My good will towards them.

O Lord be thou My Pilot in this dark and dangerous storme, which neither admits My returne to the Port whence I set out, nor My making any other, with that safety and honour which I designed.

Tis easie for Thee to keep Me safe

in the love and confidence of My people; nor is it hard for Thee to preserve Me amidst the injust hatred and jealousies of too many, which thou hast suffered so far to prevaile upon Me, as to be able to pervert and abuse My acts of greatest Indulgence to them, and assurance of them.

But no favours from Me can make others more guilty then My Selfe may be, of misusing those many & great ones, which Thou, O Lord, hast conferred on Me.

I beseech Thee give Me and them such Repentance, as thou wilt accept, and such Grace as we may not abuse.

Make Me so far happy as to make a right use of others abuses, and by their failings of Me, to reflect, with a reforming displeasure, upon My offences against Thee.

So, although for My sins I am by other mens sins deprived of thy temporall blessings, yet I may be happy to enjoy the comfort of thy mercies, which often raise the greatest Sufferers to be the most glorious Saints.

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6. *Vpon*

6. *Vpon His Majeſties retirement from* Weſtminſter.

WIth what unwillingneſſe I withdrew from *Weſtminſter* let them judge, who, unprovided of tackling, and victuall, are forced by a ſtorme to Sea; yet better do ſo, then venture ſplitting or ſinking on a Lee ſhore.

I ſtayed at *Whitehall*, till I was driven away by ſhame more than feare; to ſee ȳ barbarous rudeneſſe of thoſe Tumults who reſolved they would take the boldneſſe to demand any thing, and not leave either My ſelf, or the Members of Parliament the liberty of our Reaſon, and Conſcience to deny them any thing.

Nor was this intolerable oppreſſion My caſe alone, (though chiefly mine) For the Lords and Commons might be content to be overvoted by the *major* part of their Houſes, when they had uſed each their owne freedome.

Whoſe agreeing Votes were not by any Law or reaſon concluſive to my

Iudgment; nor can they include, or carry with them my consent, whom they represent not in any kind; Nor am I further bound to agree with the Votes of both Houses, then *I* see them agree with the will of God, with My just Rights, as a King, and the generall good of My People. I see that as many men they are seldome of one mind; and *I* may oft see, that the major part of them are not in the right.

I had formerly declared to sober and moderate mindes, how desirous *I* was to give all just content, when *I* agreed to so many Bills, which had been enough to secure and satisfie all: *If* some mens Hydropick insatiablenesse had not learned to thirst ŷ more by how much more they drank; whom no fountain of Royall bounty was able to overcome; so resolved they seemed, either utterly to exhaust it, or barbarously to obstruct it.

Sure it ceases to be Councell; when not Reason is used, as to men to perswade; but force and terrour as to beasts, to drive and compell men to assent to what ever tumultuary patrons shall project. He deserves to be a slave without pitty, or redemption; that

that is content to have the rationall soveraignty of his Soul, and liberty of his will, and words, so captivated.

Nor do *I* think My Kingdomes so considerable as to preserve them with the forfeiture of that freedome; which cannot be denied Me as a King, because it belongs to Me as a Man, and a Christian; owning the dictates of none, but God, to be above Me, as obliging Me to consent. Better for Me to die enjoying this Empire of My Soul, which subjects Me only to God, so farre as by Reason or Religion he directs Me, then live with the Title of a King, if it should carry such a vassalage with it, as not to suffer Me to use My Reason and Conscience, in what *I* declare as a King, to like or dislike.

So farre am I from thinking the Majesty of the Crown of *England* to be bound by any Coronation Oath, in a blind and brutish formality, to consent to what ever its subjects in Parliament shall require; as some men will needs inferre; while denying Me any power of a Negative voice as King, they are not ashamed to seek to deprive Me of the liberty of using My Reason with a good Conscience,

which themſelves, and all the Commons of *England* enjoy proportionable to their influence on ỹ publick; who would take it very ill to be urged, not to deny, what ever my ſelf, as King, or the Houſe of Peeres with me, ſhould not ſo much deſire as enjoyn them to paſſe. *I* think my Oath fully diſcharged in that point by my Governing only by ſuch Lawes, as my People with the Houſe of Peeres have Choſen, and my ſelf have conſented to. I ſhall never think my ſelf conſcientiouſly tied to goe as oft againſt my Conſcience, as *I* ſhould conſent to ſuch new Propoſalls, which my Reaſon, in Iuſtice, Honour, and Religion bids me deny.

Yet ſo tender I ſee ſome men are of their being ſubject to Arbitrary Government, (that is, the Law of anothers will, to which themſelves give no conſent) that they care not with how much diſhonour and abſurdity they make their King the onely man, that muſt be ſubject to the will of others, without having power left Him, to uſe His own Reaſon, either in Perſon, or by any Repreſentation.

And if my diſſentings at any time were (as ſome have ſuſpected, and unchari-

charitably avowed) out of error, opiniativeneſſe, weakneſſe, or wilfulneſſe, and what they call Obſtinacy in me (which not true Judgement of things, but ſome vehement prejudice or paſſion hath fixed on my mind;) yet can no man think it other then the Badge and method of Slavery, by ſavage rudeneſſe, & importunate obtruſions of violence, to have the miſt of His Errour and Paſſion diſpelled, which is a ſhadow of Reaſon, and muſt ſerve thoſe that are deſtitute of the ſubſtance. Sure that man cannot be blameable to God or man, who ſeriouſly endeavours to ſee the beſt reaſon of things, and faithfully followes what he takes for Reaſon: The uprightneſſe of his intentions will excuſe the poſſible failings of his underſtanding; If a Pilot at Sea cannot ſee the Pole-ſtar, it can be no fault in him to ſteere his courſe by ſuch ſtars as do beſt appear to him. It argues rather thoſe men to be conſcious of their defects of Reaſon, and convincing Arguments, who call in the aſſiſtance of meer force to carry on the weakneſſe of their Councells, and Propoſalls. I may, in the Truth and uprightneſſe of My heart, proteſt before God and men,

Men; that I never wilfully opposed or denied any thing, that was in a fair way, after full and free debates propounded to Me by the two Houses, further then I thought in good reason *I* might, and was bound to do.

Nor did any thing ever please Me more, then when My *I*udgement so concurred with theirs, that *I* might with good Conscience consent to them: yea, in many things where no absolute and morall necessity of Reason, but temporary convenience in point of Honour was to be considered: *I* chose rather to deny My self then them; as preferring that which they thought necessary for My Peoples good, before what *I* saw but convenient for My self.

For *I* can be content to recede much from My own Interests, and Personall Rights, of which *I* conceive My self to be Master; but in what concernes Truth, *I*ustice, the Rights of the Church, and My Crown, together with the generall good of My Kingdomes; (all which *I* am bound to preserve as much as morally lies in Me;) here *I* am, and ever shall be fixed and resolute; nor shall any man gain my consent to that, wherein my

Heart

art gives my tongue or hand the Lie; nor will *I* be brought to affirme that to men, which in my Conſcience *I* denie before God. *I* will rather chuſe to wear a Crown of Thornes with my Saviour, then to exchange that of Gold (which is due to me) for one of Lead, whoſe embaſed flexibleneſſe ſhall be forced to bend, and comply to the various, and oft contrary dictates of any Factions; when inſtead of Reaſon, and Publick concernments, they obtrude nothing but what makes for the intereſt of parties, and flowes from the partialities of private wills and paſſions.

I know no reſolutions more worthy a Chriſtian King, then to prefer His conſcience before His Kingdoms.

O my God, preſerve thy ſervant in his Native, Rationall & Religious Freedom; For this I beleeve is thy will, that we ſhould maintain: who, though thou doſt juſtly require us, to ſubmit our underſtandings and wills to thine, whoſe wiſdom and goodneſſe can neither erre, nor miſguide us, and ſo far to deny our carnall reaſon, in order to thy ſacred Myſteries, and commands, that we ſhould beleeve & obey rather then diſpute them; yet doſt thou

thou expect from us, only such a reasonable service of thee, as not to do any thing for thee, against our consciences; and as to the desires of men, enjoynest us to try all things by the touch-stone of Reason and Lawes, which are the rules of Civill justice; and to declare our consents to that only which our Judgements approve.

Thou knowest, O Lord, how unwilling I was to desert that place, in which thou hast set me, and whereto the affaires of My Kingdomes at present did call me.

My People can witnesse how far I have been content for their good, to deny My self, in what thou hast subjected to My disposall.

O Let not the unthankfull importunities, & tumultuary violence of some mens Immoderate demands, ever betray me to that dangerous and unmanly slavery, which should make Me strengthen them by My consent in those things which I think in my Conscience to be against thy glory, the good of My Subjects, & the discharge of My own duty in Reason and Justice.

Make Me willing to suffer the greatest indignities, and injuries they presse upon Me, rather then commit the least sinne against My Conscience.

Let the just liberties of My People be (as well they may) preserved in fair, and equall

equall wayes, without the slavery of My Soul.

Thou that hast invested Me by thy favours, in the power of a Christian King, suffer Me not to subject My Reason to other mens passions, and designes, which to Me seem unreasonable, unjust, and irreligious: So shall I serve thee in the truth and uprightnesse of My heart, though I cannot satisfie these men.

Though I be driven from among them, yet give Me grace to walk alwayes uprightly before thee.

Lead Mee in the way of Truth and Iustice, for these, I know, will bring Me at last to peace and happinesse with thee; though for these I have much trouble among men.

This I beg of thee for My Saviours sake.

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7. Vpon

7. *Vpon the Queenes departure, and absence out of* England.

ALthough *I* have much cauſe to be troubled at My Wifes departure from me, and out of my Dominions; yet not Her abſence, ſo much, as the Scandall of that Neceſſity, which drives her away, doth afflict me. That She ſhould be compelled by my own Subjects, and thoſe pretending to be Proteſtants, to withdraw for Her ſafety: This being the firſt example of any Proteſtant Subjects, that have taken up Arms againſt their King, a Proteſtant: For *I* look upon this now done in England, as another act of the ſame Tragedie which was lately begun in Scotland; the brands of that fire being ill quenched, have kindled the like flames here. *I* fear ſuch motions (ſo little to the adorning of the Proteſtant profeſſion) may occaſion a farther alienation of mind, & divorce of affections in Her, from that Religion, which is the only thing wherein we differ.

Which yet God can, and *I* pray he would

would in time take away; and not ſuffer theſe practiſes to be any obſtruction to Her judgement; ſince it is the motion of thoſe men, (for the moſt part) who are yet to ſeek and ſettle their Religion for Doctrine, Government, and good Manners, and ſo not to be imputed to the true Engliſh Proteſtants; who continue firme to their former ſetled Principles and Lawes.

I am ſorry my relation to ſo deſerving a Lady, ſhould be any occaſion of her danger & affliction; whoſe merits would have ſerved her for a protection among the ſavage *Indians*; while their rudeneſſe and barbarity knowes not ſo perfectly to hate all Vertues, as ſome mens ſubtilty doth; among whom *I* yet thinke few are ſo malicious as to hate Her for Her ſelfe. The fault is, that ſhe is my wife.

All juſtice then as well as affection commands Me, to ſtudy her Security, who is only in danger for My ſake; I am content to be toſſed, weather-beaten, and ſhipwrackt, ſo as She may be in ſafe Harbour.

This comfort I ſhall enjoy by her ſafety in the midſt of My Perſonall dangers, that I can periſh but half, if

she be preserved: In whose memory, and hopefull Posterity, I may yet survive the malice of My enemies, although they should be satiated with My bloud.

I must leave her, and them, to the Love and Loyalty of My good Subjects; and to his protection, who is able to punish the faults of Princes, and no lesse severely to revenge the injuries done to Them, by those who in all duty and Allegiance, ought to have made good that safety, which the Lawes chiefly provide for Princes.

But common civility is in vaine expected from those, that dispute their Loyalty: Nor can it be safe (for any relation) to a King, to tarry among them who are shaking hands with their Allegiance, under pretence of laying faster hold on their Religion.

Tis pitty so noble and peacefull a soule should see, much more suffer, the rudenesse of those who must make up their want of justice, with inhumanity, and impudence.

Her sympathy with Me in My afflictions, will make her vertues shine with greater lustre, as stars in ỹ darkest nights; and assure the envious world

world, that she loves Me, not My fortunes.

Neither of us but can easily forgive, since we do not much blame the unkindnesse of the Generality, and Vulgar; for we see God is pleased to try both our patience, by the most selfe-punishing sin, the Ingratitude of those, who having eaten of our bread, and being enriched with Our bounty, have Scornfully lift up themselves against us; and those of Our owne Housholds are become Our enemies. I pray God lay not their sin to their charge: who thinke to satisfy all obligations to duty, by their *Corban* of Religion: and can lesse endure to see, then to sin against their benefactours as well as their Soveraignes.

But even that policy of my enemies is so farre veniall, as it was necessary to their designes, by scandalous articles, and all irreverent demeanour, to seeke to drive her out of My Kingdomes, lest by the influence of her example, eminent for love as a Wife, and Loyalty, as a Subject, she should have converted to, or retayned in their love, and Loyalty, all those whom they had a purpose to pervert.

The leſſe I may be bleſt with her company, the more I will retire to God, and My owne Heart, whence no malice can baniſh Her. My enemies may envy, but they can never deprive Me of the enjoyment of her vertues, while I enjoy My ſelf.

Thou O Lord, whoſe Juſtice at preſent ſees fit to ſcatter us, let thy mercy in thy due time, reunite us, on earth, if it be thy will, however, bring us both at laſt, to thy heavenly Kingdome.

Preſerve us from the hands of our deſpitefull and deadly enemies; and prepare us by our ſufferings for thy preſence.

Though we differ in ſome things, as to Religion, (which is my greateſt temporall infelicity) yet Lord give, and accept the ſincerity of our affections, which deſire to ſeek, to find, to embrace every Truth of thine.

Let both our Hearts agree in the love of thy ſelfe, and Chriſt crucified for us.

Teach us both what thou wouldſt have us to know, in order to thy glory; our publique relations, and our ſoules eternall good, and make us carefull to do what good we know.

Let neither Ignorance of what is neceſſary to be knowne, nor unbelief, nor diſobe-

disobedience to what we know, be our misery or our wilfull default.

Let not this great Scandall of those my Subjects, which professe the same Religion with me, be any hindrance to her love of any Truth thou wouldst have her to learn, nor any hardning of her, in any errour thou wouldst have cleared to her.

Let mine, and other mens constancy be an Antidote against the poyson of their example.

Let the Truth of that Religion I profesſe, be represented to her Iudgement, with all the beauties of Humility, Loyalty, Charity, and Peaceablenesſe; which are the proper fruits, and ornaments of it: Not in the odious disguises of Levity, Schisme, Heresie, Novelty, Cruelty and Disloyalty, which some mens practises have lately put upon it.

Let her see thy sacred and saving Truths, as Thine; that she may believe, love: and obey them as Thine, cleared from all rust and drosse of humane mixtures.

That in the glasse of thy Truth she may see thee, in those mercies which thou hast offered to us, in thy Sonne Iesus Christ, our onely Saviour, and serve thee in all those Holy duties, which most agree with his holy doctrine, and most imitable example.

The experience we have of the vanity, and uncertainty of all humane Glory, and greatnesse in our scatterings and Eclypses, let it make us both so much the more ambitious to be invested in those durable honours, and perfections, which are onely to be found in thy self, and obtained through Iesus Christ.

8. *Vpon His Majesties repulse at* Hull, *and the fates of the* Hothams.

MY repulse at *Hull* seemed at the first view an act of so rude disloyalty, that My greatest enemies had scarce confidence enough to abett, or owne it: It was the first covert Essay to be made, how patiently I could beare the Losse of My Kingdomes.

God knows, it affected me more with shame and sorrow for others, then with anger for My selfe; nor did the affront done to Me trouble Me so much as their sinne, which admitted no colour or excuse.

I was resolved how to beare this, and much more, with patience: But I foresaw they could hardly conteine them-

themſelves within the compaſſe of this one unworthy act, who had effrontery enough to commit, or countenance it. This was but the Hand of that Cloud, which was ſoone after to overſpread the whole kingdome, and caſt all into diſorder and darkneſſe.

For tis among the wicked Maximes of bold and diſloyall undertakers: That bad actions muſt alwayes be ſeconded with worſe, and rather not be begun then not carried on, for they think the retreat more dangerous then the aſſault, and hate repentance more then perſeverance in a Fault.

This gave Me to ſee clearly through all the pious diſguiſes, and ſoft palliations of ſome men; whoſe words were ſometime ſmoother then oyle, but now I ſaw they would prove very Swords.

Againſt which I having (as yet) no defence, but that of a good Conſcience, thought it My beſt policy (with patience) to bear what I could not remedy: And in this (I thank God) I had the better of *Hotham*, that no diſdain, or emotion of paſſion tranſported Me, by the indignity of his

carriage, to doe or say any thing, unbeseeming My self, or unsuitable to that temper, which, in greatest injuries, I think, best becomes a Christian, as comming neareſt to the great example of Christ.

And indeed, I desire alwaies more to remember I am a Christian, then a King; for what the Majesty of one might justly abhorre, the Charity of the other is willing to bear; what the height of a King tempteth to revenge, the humility of a Christian teacheth to forgive. Keeping in compasse all those impotent passions, whose excesse injures a man, more then his greatest enemies can; for these give their malice a full impression on our souls, which otherwaies cannot reach very far, nor doe us much hurt.

I cannot but observe how God not long after so pleaded, and avenged My cause, in the eye of the world, that the most wilfully blind cannot avoid the displeasure to see it, and with some remorse and fear to own it as a notable stroke, and prediction of divine vengeance.

For, Sir *John Hotham* unreproached, unthreatned, uncurſed by any lan-

language or secret imprecation of Mine, onely blasted with the conscience of his own wickednesse, and falling from one inconstancy to another, not long after pajes his own & his eldest Sons heads, as forfeitures of their disloyalty, to those men, from whom surely hee might have expected another reward, then thus to divide their heads from their bodies, whose hearts with them were divided from their *KING*.

Nor is it strange that they who imployed them at first in so high a service, and so successfull to them, should not finde mercy enough to forgive Him, who had so much premerited of them: For, Apostacy unto Loyalty some men account the most unpardonable sinne.

Nor did a solitary vengeance serve the turn, the cutting off one head na Family is not enough to expiate the affront done to the Head of the Common-weall. The eldest Sonne must be involved in the punishment, as he was infected with the sinne of the Father, against the Father of his Countrey: *Root* and *branch* God cuts off in one day.

These observations are obvious to

every fancy: God knows, I was so farre from rejoycing in the *Hotham's* ruine, (though it were such as was able to give the greatest thirst for revenge a full draught, being executed by them who first employed him against Me) that I so farre pitied him; as I thought he at first acted more against the light of his Conscience, then I hope many other men do in the same cause.

For, he was never thought to be of that superstitious sowrnesse, which some men pretend to, in matters of Religion; which so darkens their judgement that they cannot see any thing of Sinne and Rebellion in those means, they use, with intents to reform to their Models, of what they call Religion, who think all is gold of piety, which doth but glister with a shew of Zeall and Fervency.

Sir *Iohn Hotham* was (I think) a man of another temper, and so more liable to those down-right temptations of ambition, which have the cloak or cheat of Religion to impose upon themselves or others.

That which makes mee more pity him is, that after he began to have some

some inclinations towards a repentance for his sinne, and reparation of his duty to Me, He should be so unhappy as to fall into the hands of their Justice, and not My mercy, who could as willingly have forgiven him, as he could have asked that favour of Me.

For I think clemency a debt, which we ought to pay to those that crave it, when we have cause to beleeve they would not after abuse it, since God himself suffers us not to pay any thing for his mercy but only prayers and praises.

Poor Gentleman, he is now become a notable monument of unprospereus disloyalty, teaching the world by so sad and unfortunate a spectacle, that the rude carriage of a Subject towards his Soveraign carries alwayes its own vengeance, as an unseperable shadow with it, and those oft prove the most fatall, and implacable Executioners of it, who were the first Imployers in the service.

After-times will dispute it, whether *Hotham* were more infamous at *Hull*, or at *Tower-hill*; though tis certain that no punishment so stains a mans Honour, as wilfull perpetrations of unwor-

unworthy actions; which besides the conscience of the sinne, brands with most indelible characters of infamy, the name and memory to posterity, who not engaged in the Factions of the times, have the most impartiall reflections on the actions.

But thou, O Lord, who hast in so remarkable a way avenged thy Servant, suffer me not to take any secret pleasure in it, for as his death hath satisfied the injurie he did to me, so let not mee by it gratifie anie passion in me, lest I make thy vengeance to be mine, and consider the affront against me, more then the sinne against thee.

Thou indeed, without anie desire or endeavour of mine, hast made his mischief to return on his own head, and his violent dealing to come down on his own pate.

Thou hast pleaded my cause, even before the sonnes of men, and taken the matter into thine own hands; that men may know it was thy work, and see that thou, Lord, hast done it.

I do not, I dare not say, so let mine enemies perish, O Lord! yea Lord, rather give them repentance, pardon, and impunitie, if it be thy blessed will.

Let

Let not thy justice prevent the objects and opportunities of my mercie; Yea, let them live and amend who have most offended me in so high a nature; that I may have those to forgive, who bear most proportion in their offences to those trespasses against thy Majestie, which I hope thy mercie hath forgiven me.

Lord lay not their sins (who yet live) to their charge for condemnation, but to their Consciences for amendment: Let the lighting of this thunder-bolt, which hath been so severe a punishment to one, be a terrour to all.

Discover to them their sinne, who know not they have done amisse, & scare them from their sinne, that sinne of malicious wickednesse.

That preventing thy judgements by their true repentance, they may escape the strokes of thine eternall vengeance.

And do thou, O Lord, establish the Throne of thy servant in mercie, & truth meeting together; let my Crown ever flourish in righteousnesse, and peace, kissing each other.

Hear my prayer, O Lord, who hast taught us to pray for, to do good to, and to love our enemies, for thy sake; who hast prevented us with offertures of thy love, even when we were thine enemies, and hast

haſt ſent thy Sonne Ieſus Chriſt to die for us, when we were diſpoſed to crucifie him.

9. *Vpon the liſting, and raiſing Armies againſt the* KING.

I Find that I am at the ſame point and poſture I was, when they forced Me to leave *White-hall*: what Tumults could not doe, an Army muſt; which is but Tumults liſted, and enrolled to a better order, but as bad an end: My receſſe hath given them confidence that I may be conquered.

And ſo I eaſily may as to any outward ſtrength, which, God knowes, is little or none at all: But I have a Soule invincible through Gods grace enabling Me; here I am ſure to be Conquerour, if God will give Me ſuch a meaſure of Conſtancy, as to feare him more than man: and to love the inward peace of My Conſcience, before any outward tranquillity.

And muſt I be oppoſed with force, becauſe they have not reaſon wherewith to convince me? O my Soule, be

be of good courage, they confesse their knowne weakneſſe, as to truth, and Juſtice, who choſe rather to contend by Armies, than by Arguments.

Is this the reward and thanks that I am to receive for thoſe many Acts of Grace I have lately paſſed, and for thoſe many Indignities I have endured? Is there no way left to make Me a glorious *KING* but by My ſufferings?

It is a hard and diſputable choice for a King, that loves his People, and deſires their love, either to kill his owne Subjects, or to be killed by them.

Are the hazards and miſeries of Civil War in the bowels of My moſt flouriſhing Kingdome, the fruits I muſt now reap after 17 years living and reigning among them, with ſuch a meaſure of Juſtice, Peace, Plenty; and Religion, as all Nations about either admired, or envied? notwithſtanding ſome miſcarriages in Government, which might eſcape; rather through ill counſell of ſome men driving on their private ends, or the peeviſhneſſe of others envying the publique ſhould be managed without them, or the hidden and inſuperable ne-

neceſſities of State, then any propenſity, I hope, of my ſelf either to injurioufneſs or oppreſſion.

Whoſe innocent bloud during My Reigne have I ſhed, to ſatisfie My luſt, anger, or covetouſneſſe? what Widowes or Orphans tears can witneſſe againſt me; the juſt cry of which muſt now be avenged with My owne bloud? For the hazards of Warre are equall, nor doth the Cannon know any reſpect of Perſons.

In vaine is My Perſon excepted by a Parentheſis of words, when ſo many hands are armed againſt Me with Swords.

God knowes how much I have ſtudied to ſee what Ground of Iuſtice is alledged for this Warre againſt Me; that ſo I might (by giving juſt ſatisfaction) either prevent, or ſoone end ſo unnaturall a motion; which (to many men) ſeemes rather the productions of a ſurfeit of peace, and wantonneſſe of mindes, or of private diſcontents, Ambition and Faction (which eaſily find, or make cauſes of quarrell) then any reall obſtructions of publick Iuſtice, or Parliamentary priviledge.

But this is pretended, and this I muſt

must be able to avoid and answer before God in My owne Conscience, however some men are not willing to beleeve Me, lest they should condemn themselves.

When I first withdrew from *Whitehall*, to see if I could allay the insolency of the Tumults, (the not suppressing of which, no account in Reason can be given, (where an orderly Guard was granted) but only to oppresse both Mine and the Two Houses freedome of declaring and voting according to every mans Conscience) what obstructions of Iustice were there further then this, that what seemed just to one man, might not seeme so to another?

Whom did I by power protect against the Iustice of Parliament?

That some men withdrew, who feared the partiality of their tryall, (warned by My Lord of *Straffords* death) while the vulgar threatned to be their Oppressors, and Iudgers of their Iudges, was from that instinct, which is in all creatures to preserve themselves. If any others refused to appear, where they evidently saw the current of Iustice and Freedom so stopped and troubled by the Rabble,

that their lawfull Iudges either durst not come to the Houses, or not declare their sense with liberty and safety? it cannot seem strange to any reasonable man, when the sole exposing thē to publick *odium* was enough to ruine them, before their Cause could be heard or tryed.

Had not factious Tumults overborne the Freedome and Honour of the two Houses; had they asserted their Iustice against them, and made the way open for all the Members quietly to come and declare their Consciences: I know no man so deare to Me, whom I had the least inclination to advice either to withdraw himself, or deny appearing upon their Summons, to whose Sentence according to Law (I think) every Subject bound to stand.

Distempers (indeed) were risen to so great a height, for want of timely repressing the vulgar insolencies; that the greatest guilt of those which were Voted and demanded as Delinquents was this, That they would not suffer themselves to be over-aw'd With the Tumults, and their Patrones; not compelled to abet, by their suffrages or presence, the designes of those men

men who agitated innovations, and ruine, both in Church and State.

In this point I could not but aprove their generous constancy and cautiousnesse; further then this I did never allow any mans refractorinesse against the Priviledges and Orders of the Houses; to whom I wished nothing more, then Safety, Fulnesse, and Freedome.

But the truth is, some men, and those not many, despairing in faire and Parliamentary wayes by free deliberations and Votes, to gain the concurrence of the Major part of Lords and Commons, betook themselves (by the desperate activity of factious Tumults) to fright and terrifie away all those Members whom they saw to be of contrary minds to their purposes.

How oft was the businesse of the Bishops enjoying their Ancient places, and undoubted Priviledges in the House of Peeres, carried for them by farre the Major part of Lords? Yet after five repulses, contrary to all Order and Custome, it was by tumultuary instigations obtruded again, and by a few carried, when most of the Peeres were forced to absent themselves.

In like manner, was the Bill against Root and Branch, brought on by tumultuary Clamours, and schismaticall Terrours, which could never passe, till both Houses were sufficiently thinned.

To which Partiality, while in all Reason, Iustice and Religion, My conscience forbids Me by consenting to make up their Votes to Acts of Parliament; I must now be urged with an Army, and constrained either to hazard My owne, and My Kingdomes ruine, by my Defence; or prostrate My Conscience to the blind obedience of those men, whose zealous superstition thinks, or pretends, they cannot do God and the Church a greater service, than utterly to destroy that Primitive, Apostolicall, and Anciently Universall Government of the Church by Bishops.

Which, if other mens judgements bind them to maintain, or forbid them to consent to the abolishiug of it; Mine much more; who, besides the grounds I have in My judgement, have also a most strict and indispensable Oath upon My Conscience, to preserve that Order, and the Rights of the Church; to which, most Sacri-

legious

legious and abhorred Perjury., moſt un-beſeeming a Chriſtian King, ſhould I ever by giving My Conſent be betrayed, I ſhould account it infinitely greater miſery, then any hath, or can befall Me; in as much as the leaſt ſinne hath more evill in it then the greateſt affliction. Had I gratified their Anti-epiſcopall Faction at firſt in this point, with My conſent, and ſacrificed the Eccleſiaſticall Government, and Revenues, to the fury of their covetuouſneſſe, ambition, and revenge, I believe they would then have found no colourable neceſſity of raiſing an Army to fetch in, and puniſh Delinquents.

That I conſented to the Bill of putting the Biſhops out of the Houſe of Peers, was done with a firm perſwaſion of their contentednes to ſuffer a preſent diminution in their Rights, and Honour for My ſake, and the Common-weals, which I was confident they would readily yeeld unto, rather then occaſion (by the leaſt obſtruction on their part) any dangers to Me, or to My Kingdome. That I cannot adde My conſent for the totall extirpation of that Government (which I have often offered to all fit

regulations) hath so much further tie upon My Conscience, as, what I think Religious and Apostolicall and so very Sacred and Divine, is not to be dispensed with, or destroyed: when what is only of civill Favor, and priviledge of Honour granted to men of that Order, may with their consent, who are concerned in it be annulled.

This is the true state of those obstructions pretended to be in point of Justice and Authority of Parliament, when I call God to witnesse, I knew none of such consequence as was worth speaking of a Warre, being only, such as Iustice, Reason, and Religion had made in My owne and other mens Consciences.

Afterwards indeed a great shew of Delinquents was made; which were but consequences necessarily following upon mine, or others withdrawing from, or defence against violence: but those could not be the first occasion of raising an Army against me. Wherein I was so far from preventing them, (as they have declared often, that they might seeme to have the advantage and Iustice of the defensive part, and load me with al the envy and injuries of first assaulting them) that God

God knows, I had not so much as any hope of an Army in my thoughts Had the Tumults been Honourably and Effectually represſed by exemplary Iuſtice, and the liberty of the Houſes ſo vindicated, that al members of either Houſe might with Honour and Freedome, becomming ſuch a Senate, have come and diſcharged their Conſciences, I had obtained all that I deſigned by my withdrawing, and had much more willingly, and ſpeedily returned then I retired; this being my neceſſity driving, the other my choiſe deſiring.

But ſome men knew, I was like to bring the ſame judgement and conſtancy, which I carryed with me, which would never fit their deſignes: and ſo while they invited me to come, and grievouſly complained of my abſence, yet they could not but be pleaſed with it: eſpecially when they had found out that plauſible and popular pretext of raiſing an Army to fetch in Delinquents: when all that while they never puniſhed the greateſt and moſt intolerable Delinquencie of the Tumults, and their Exciters, which drave my ſelfe, and ſo many of both Houſes from their

places, by most barbarous indignities, which yet in all Reason and Honour, they were as loath to have deserted, as those others were willing they should that so they might have occasion to persecute them with the Injuries of an Army, for not suffering more tamely the Injuries of the Tumults.

That this is the true state, and first drift and designe in raising an Army against Me, is by the sequell so evident, that all other pretences vanish. For when they declared by Propositions, or Treaties, what they would have to appease them; there was nothing of consequence offered to Me, or demanded of me, as any originall difference in any point of Law, or order of Justice. But among other lesser Innovations, this chiefly was urged, The Abolition of Episcopall, and the Establishment of Presbyterian Government.

All other things at any time propounded were either impertinent as to any ground of a War, or easily granted by me, and onely to make up a number, or else they were meerly consequentiall, and accessary, after the War was by them unjustly began.

I cannot hinder other mens thoughts,

thoughts, whom the noice and shew of piety, and heat for Reformation and Religion, might easily so fill with prejudice, that all equality and clearnesse of judgement might be obstructed. But this was, and is, as to my best observation, the true state of affaires betweene us, when they first raised an Army, with this designe, either to stop my mouth, or to force my consent: and in this truth, as to my conscience, (who was God knows) as farre from meditating a War, as I was in the eye of the world from having any preparation for one) I find that comfort, that in the midst of all the unfortunate successes of this war, on my side, I doe not think my Innocencie any whit prejudiced or darkned; Nor am I without that Integrity, and Peace before God, as with humble confidence to addresse my Prayer to Him.

For Thou, O Lord, seest clearly through all the cloudings of humane affaires; Thou judgest without prejudice: Thy omniscience eternally guides thy unerrable Indgements.

O my God, the proud are risen against me, and the assemblies of violent men have

sought after my soule, and have not set Thee before their eyes.

Consider My enemies, O Lord, for they are many, and they hate me with a deadly hatred without a cause.

For Thou knowest, I had no passion, designe or preparation to embroyle My Kingdomes in a Civill Warre; whereto I had least temptation: as knowing I must adventure more then any, and could gaine least of any by it.

Thou, O Lord, art my witnesse how oft I have deplored, and studied to divert the necessity thereof, wherein I cannot will be thought so prodigally thirsty of my Subjects blood, as to venture my own Life, which I have been oft compelled to doe in this unhappy Warre; and which were better spent to save then to destroy my People.

O Lord, I need much of thy grace, with patience to bear the many afflictions thou hast suffered some men to bring upon me; but much more to bear the unjust reproaches of those, who not content that I suffer most by the Warre, will needs perswade the world that I have raised first, or given just cause to raise it.

The confidence of some mens false tongues is such, that they would make me almost suspect my own innocency: Yea,

I could

I could be content (at leaſt by my ſilence) to take upon me ſo great a guilt before man, if by that I might allay the malice of my Enemies, and redeeme my People from this miſerable Warre; ſince thou O Lord knoweſt my Innocency in this thing.

Thou wilt finde out bloudy and deceitfull men; many of whom have not lived out half their daies, in which they promiſed themſelves the enjoyment of the fruits of their violent and wicked Counſells.

Save, O Lord, thy ſervant, as hitherto thou haſt, and in thy due time ſcatter the people that delight in Warre.

Ariſe O Lord, liſt up thy ſelf, becauſe of the rage of mine Enemies, which encreaſeth more and more. Behold them that have conceived miſchief, travelled with iniquity, and brought forth falſhood.

Thou knoweſt the chief deſigne of this Warre is, either to deſtroy My perſon, or force My Judgment, and to make me renege my Conſcience and thy Truth.

I am driven to croſſe Davids *choiſe and deſire, rather to fall into the hands of man, by denying them, (though their mercies be cruell) then into thy hands by ſinning againſt My Conſcience, and in that againſt thee, who art a conſuming fire? Better they deſtroy Me, then thou ſhouldſt damne Me.*

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Be

Be thou ever the defence of My soul, who wilt save the upright in heart.

If nothing but My blood will satisfie My Enemies, or quench the flames of My Kingdomes, or thy temporall Justice, I am content, if it be thy will, that it be shed by Mine owne Subjects hands.

But ô let the blood of Me, though their King, yet a sinner, be washed with the Blood of My Innocent and peace-making Redeemer, for in that thy Justice will find not only a temporary expiation, but an eternall plenary satisfaction; both for my sins, and the sins of my People; whom I beseech thee still own for thine, and when thy wrath is appeased by my Death, O Remember thy great mercies toward them, and forgive them O my Father! for they know not what they do.

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10. *Upon*

10. *Upon their seizing the Kings Magazines, Forts, Navy, and* Militia.

HOw untruly I am Charged with the first raising of an Army, and beginning this Civill Warre, the eyes that only pitty Me, and the Loyall hearts that durst only pray for Me, at first, might witnesse, which yet appear not so many on My side, as there were men in Arms listed against Me. My unpreparednesse for a War may well dis-hearten those that would help Me; while it argues (truly) My unwillingnes to fight; yet it testifies for me, that I am set on the defensive part; having so little hopes or power to offend others, that I have none to defend My self, or to preserve what is Mine own, from their præreption.

No man can doubt but they prevented Me in their purposes, as well as their injuries, who are so much before-hand in their preparations against Me, and surprisalls of My strength. Such as are not for Them, yet

yet dare not be for Me; so over-aw'd is their Loyalty by the others numbers and terrours. I believe my Innocency, and unpreparednesse to assert my Rights and Honour, makes me the more guilty in their esteeme; who would not so easily have declared a War against Me, if I had first assaulted them.

They knew My chiefest Armes left Me, were those only, which the Ancient Christians were wont to use against their Persecutors, Prayers and Teares. These may serve a good mans turne, if not to Conquer as a Souldier, yet to suffer as a martyr.

Their preventing of me, and surprizing my Castles, Forts, Armes, and Navy, with the Militia, is so farre best for me, That it may drive me from putting any trust in the arme of flesh, and wholly to cast my self into the protection of the living God, who can save by few, or none as well as by many.

He that made the greedy Ravens to be *Elias* Caterers, and bring him food, may also make their surprisall of outward force and defence, an opportunity to shew me the speciall support of his power and protection.

I thank

I thank God I reckon not now the want of the *Militia* ſo much in reference to my own protection as my Peoples.

Their many and ſore oppreſſions grieve me, I am above my owne, what I want in the hands of Force and Power, I have in the wings of Faith and Prayer.

But this is the ſtrange method theſe men will needs take to reſolve their riddle of *Making Me a Glorious King*, by taking away my Kingly power: Thus I ſhall become a ſupport to my Friends, and a Terrour to my Enemies by being unable to ſuccour the one, or ſuppreſſe the other.

For thus have they deſigned, and propoſed to me, the new modelling of Soveraignty and Kingſhip, as without any reality of power, ſo without any neceſſity of ſubjection and obedience: That the majeſty of the Kings of *England* might hereafter, hang like *Mahomets* Tomb, by a magnetique Chain, between the Power and Priviledges of the two Houſes, in an aiery imagination of Regality.

But I believe the ſurfet of too much Power, which ſome men have greedily

greedily seized on, and now seek wholly to devour, will ere long make the Common-wealth sick both of it and them, since they cannot well digest it; Soveraigne Power in Subjects seldome agreeing with the soomacks of fellow Subjects.

Yet I have even in this point of the constant *Militia* sought, by satisfying their feares, and importunities, both to secure my Friends, and overcome mine Enemies, to gaine the peace of all, by depriving my selfe of a sole power to help, or hurt any: yeilding the *Militia* (which is my undoubted Right no lesse than the Crowne) to be disposed of as the two Houses shall think fit, during my time.

So willing am I to bury all Iealousies in them, of Me, & to live above all Iealousies of them, as to my self: I desire not to be safer than I wish them & my People; If I had the sole actuall disposing of the *Militia*, I could not protect my People, further than they protected me, and themselves: so that the use of the *Militia* is mutuall. I would but defend my self so far, as to be able to defend my good Subjects from those mens violence and fraud, who conscious to their owne evill mer ts

merits and designes, will needs perswade the world, that none but Wolves are fit to be trusted with the custody of the Shepherd and his Flock. Miserable experience hath taught my Subjects, since Power hath been wrested from me, and imployed against Me & Them, that neither can be safe, if both be not in such a way as the Law hath entrusted the Publique Safety and Welfare.

Yet even this Concession of Mine as to the exercise of the *Militia*, so vast and large, is not satisfactory to some men; which seem to be Enemies not to me onely, but to all Monarchy; and are resolved to transmit to posterity such Jealousies of the Crowne, as they should never permit it to enjoy its just & necessary Rights, in point of Power; to which (at last) all Law is resolved, while thereby it is best protected.

But here Honour and Iustice due to my Successors, forbid me to yeild to such a totall alienation of that power from them, which civility & duty (no lesse then justice and honour) should have forbad them to have asked of me. For, though *I* can be content to Eclypse My own beames, to satisfie

their feares; who think they must needs be scorched or blinded, if I should shine in the full lustre of Kingly Power, wherewith God and the Lawes have invested me: yet I will never consent to put out the Sun of Soveraignty to all Posterity, and succeeding Kings; whose just recovery of their Rights from unjust usurpations and extortions, shall never be prejudiced or obstructed by any Act of Mine, which indeed would not be more injurious to succeeding Kings, than to my Subjects; whom I desire to leave in a condition not wholly desperate for the future; so as by a Law to be ever subjected to those many factious distractions, which must needs follow the many-headed *Hydra* of Government: which as it makes a shew to the People to have more Eyes to foresee; so they will find it hath more Mouthes too, which must be satisfied: and (at best) it hath rather a monstrosity, than any thing of perfection, beyond that of right Monarchy; where counsell may be in many as the Senses, but the Supreme Power can be but in One as ỹ Head.

Happily when men have tried the horrours and malignant influence which

which will certainly follow my enforced darkneſſe and Eclypſe, (occaſioned by the interpoſition and ſhadow of that body, which as the Moone receiveth its chiefeſt light from me) they will at length more eſteeme and welcome the reſtored glory and bleſſing of the Suns light.

And if at preſent I may ſeem by My receding ſo much from the uſe of my Right in the Power of the *Militia*, to come ſhort of the diſcharge of that truſt to which I am ſworne for my Peoples protection; I conceive thoſe men are guilty of the enforced perjury, (if ſo it may ſeeme) who compell me to take this new and ſtrange way of diſcharging my truſt, by ſeeming to deſert it; of protecting my Subjects by expoſing my ſelf to danger or diſhonour, for their ſafety and quiet.

Which in the conflicts of Civill Warre and advantages of Power cannot be effected but by ſome ſide yeilding; to which the greateſt love of the publique Peace, and the firmeſt aſſurance of Gods protection (ariſing from a good conſcience) doth more invite me, than can be expected from other mens fears; which ariſing from

the injuſtice of their actions (though never ſo ſucceſsfull) yet dare not adventure their Authours upon any other way of ſafety then that of the Sword and *Militia*; which yet are but weak defences againſt the ſtroaks of divine vengeance, which will overtake; or of mens owne Conſciences, which alwaies attend injurious perpetrations.

For my ſelf, I doe not think that I can want any thing which providentiall neceſſity is pleaſed to take from me, in order to my Peoples tranquillity and Gods glory, whoſe protection is ſufficient for me; and he is able by his being with me, abundantly to compenſate to me, as he did to *Job*, what ever honour, power, or liberty the Caldeans, the Sabeans, or the Devill himſelf can deprive me of.

Although they take from me all defence of Armes and *Militia*, all refuge by land, of Forts, and Caſtles, all flight by Sea in my Ships, and Navy; yea, though they ſtudy to rob me of the Hearts of my Subjects, the greateſt Treaſure and beſt ammunition of a King, yet cannot they deprive me of my own innocency, or Gods mercy, nor obſtruct my way to Heaven. There-

Therefore, O my God, to thee I flee for help, if thou wilt be on my side, I shall have more with me then can be against me

There is none in Heaven, or in Earth, that I desire in comparison of thee: In the losse of all, be thou more then all to me: Make haste to succour me, thou that never failest them, that put their trust in thee.

Thou seest I have no power to oppose them that come against me, who are encouraged to fight under the pretence of fighting for me: But my eies are toward thee.

Thou needest no help, nor shall I, if I may have thine; If not to conquer, Yet at least, to suffer.

If thou delightest not in my safetie, and prosperitie, behold here I am willing to be reduced to what thou wilt have mee; whose Judgements oft begin with thine own Children.

I am content to be nothing, that thou maiest be all.

Thou hast taught me, That no King can be saved by the multitude of an Host; but Yet thou canst save me by the multitude of thy mercies, who art the Lord of Hosts, and the Father of mercies.

Help Me, O Lord, who am sore distressed on everie side, Yet be thou on my side, and I shall not fear what man can

do unto me.

I will give thy Iustice the glorie of my distresse.

O let thy mercie have the glorie of my deliverance from them that persecute my Soul!

By my sinnes have I fought against thee, and robbed thee of thy glorie, who am thy Subject, and justlie mayest thou, by my own Subjects, Strip me of my strength, & eclipse my glorie.

But shew thy self, O my hope, and onlie refuge! Let not mine enemies say, There is no help for him in his God.

Hold up my goings in thy paths, that my foot steps slip not.

Keep me as the apple of thine eye, hide me under the shadow of thy wings

Shew thy marveilous loving kindnesse, O thou that savest by thy right hand them that put their trust in thee, from those that rise up against them.

From the wicked that oppresse me, from my deadlie enemies that compasse me about.

Shew me the path of life. In thy presence is fulnesse of joy, at thy right hand there are pleasures for evermore.

II. *Vpon*

11. *Upon the* 19 *Propoſitions firſt ſent to the* KING; *and more afterwards.*

ALthough there be many things they demand, yet if theſe be all, I am glad to ſee at what price they ſet my own ſafety, and my Peoples peace; which I cannot think I buy at to dear a rate ſave onely the parting with my Conſcience and Honour. If nothing elſe will ſatisfie, I muſt chuſe rather to be as miſerable, and inglorious, as My enemies can make or wiſh me.

Some things here propounded to me have been offered by me; Others are eaſily granted; The reſt (I think) ought not to be obtruded upon me, with the point of the Sword; nor urged with the injuries of a War; when I have already declared that I cannot yeeld to them, without violating my Conſcience: tis ſtrange, there can be no method of peace, but by making Warre upon my Soul.

Here are many things required of

me, but I ſee nothing offerd to me, by the way of gratefull exchange of Honour; or any requitall for thoſe favours, I have, or can yet grant them.

This Honour they do Me, to put me on the giving part, which is more princely and divine. They cannot aske more then I can give, may I but reſerve to my ſelf the Incommunicable Jewell of my Conſcience; and not be forced to part with that, whoſe loſſe nothing can repair or requite.

Some things (which they are pleaſed to propound) ſeem unreaſonable to me, and while I have any Maſtery of my Reaſon, how can they think I can conſent to them? Who know they are ſuch as are inconſiſtent with being either a *KING*, or a good Chriſtian. My yeelding ſo much (as I have already) makes ſome men confident I will deny nothing.

The love I have of my Peoples peace, hath (indeed) great influence upon me; but the love of Truth, and inward Peace hath more.

Should I grant ſome things they require, I ſhould not ſo much weaken my outward ſtate of a *King*; as wound that

that inward quiet of my Conſcience. which ought to be, is, and ever ſhal be (by Gods grace) dearer to me then my *Kingdomes*.

Some things which a *King* might approve, Yet in Honour and Policy, are at ſome time to be denied, to ſome men, leſt he ſhould ſeem not to dare to deny any thing; and give too much incouragement to unreaſonable demands, or importunities.

But to bind my ſelf to a generall & implicite conſent, to what ever they ſhall deſire, or propound, (for ſuch is one of their Propoſitions) were ſuch a latitude of blind obedience, as never was expected from any Free-man, nor fit to be required of any man, much leſſe of a *King*, by his own Subjects; any of whom he may poſſibly exceed as much in wiſdom, as He doth in place and power.

This were as if *Sampſon* ſhould have conſented, not only to bind his own hands, and cut off his hair, but to put out his own eyes, that the *Philiſtines* might with the more ſafety mock, and abuſe him; which they choſe rather to do, then quite to deſtroy him, when he was become ſo tame an object, and fit occaſion for

their ſport and ſcorn.

Certainly, to exclude all power of deniall, ſeemes an arrogancy, leaſt of all becomming thoſe who pretend to make their addreſſes in an *humble and loyall* way of Petitioning; who by that ſufficiently confeſſe their owne inferiority, which obligeth them to reſt, if not ſatisfied, yet quieted with ſuch an anſwer as the will and reaſon of their Superiour thinkes fit to give; who is acknowledged to have a freedome and power of *Reaſon*, to Conſent, or Diſſent: elſe it were very fooliſh and abſurd to ask, what another having not liberty to deny, neither hath power to grant.

But if this be My Right belonging to Me, in Reaſon, as a man, and in Honour as a Soveraign King, (as undoubtedly it doth) how can it be other then extream injury to confine my Reaſon to a neceſſity of granting all they have a mind to ask, whoſe mindes may bee as differing from mine both in Reaſon and Honour, as their aims may be, and their qualities are; which laſt *God* and the Lawes have ſufficientlie diſtinguiſht, making me their Soveraign, and them my Subjects: whoſe Propoſitions may ſoon

soon prove violent Oppositions, if once they gain to be necessary Impositions upon the Regall Authority. Since no man seekes to limit and confine his *King*, in Reason, who hath not a secret aim to share with him, or usurp upon him in Power and Dominion.

But they would have me trust to their moderation, and abandon mine own discretion; that so I might verifie what representations some have made of me to the world, that I am fitter to be their Pupill then their Prince. Truly I am not so confident of my own sufficiency, as not willingly to admit the Counsell of others: But yet *I* am not so diffident of my self, as brutishly to submit to any mens dictates, and at once to betray the Soveraignty of Reason in my Soul, & the Majesty of my own Crown to any of my Subjects.

Least of all have I any ground or credulity, to induce me fully to submit to all the desires of those men, who will not admit or do refuse, and neglect to vindicate the freedom of their own and others, sitting and voting in Parliament.

Besides, all men that know them, know

know this, how young States-men (the moſt part of) theſe propounders are; ſo that, till experience of one ſeven years hath ſhewed me, how well they can Governe themſelves, and ſo much power as is wreſted from me, I ſhould be very fooliſh indeed, and unfaithfull, in my Truſt, to put the reins of both Reaſon and Government, wholly out of my own, into their hands, whoſe driving is already too much like *Iehues*; and whoſe forwardneſſe to aſcend the throne of Supremacy, portends more of *Phaeton* then of *Phebus*; God divert the Omen, if it be his will.

They may remember, that at beſt they ſit in Parliament, as my Subjects, not my Superiours; called to be my Counſellours, not Dictatours: Their Summons extends to recommend their Advice, not to command my Duty.

When I firſt heard of Propoſitions to be ſent me, I expected either ſome good Lawes, which had been antiquated by the courſe of time, or overlayd by the corruption of manners, had been deſired to a reſtauration of their vigour and due execution, or ſome evill cuſtomes preterlegall; and

ınd abuſes perſonall had been to be removed : or ſome injuries done by my ſelfe, and others, to the Common weale, were to be repaired: or ſome equable offertures were to be tendred to me, wherein the advantages of my Crowne being conſidered by them, might fairly induce me to condiſcend, to what tended to my Subjects good, without any great diminution of My ſelfe, whom Nature, Law, Reaſon, and Religion, bind me (in the firſt place) to preſerve : without which, tis impoſſible to preſerve my People according to my Place.

Or (at leaſt) I looked for ſuch moderate deſires of due reformation of what was (indeed) amiſſe in Church and State, as might ſtill preſerve the foundation and eſſentialls of Government in both; not ſhake and quite overthrow either of them, without any regard to the Lawes in force, the wiſdome and piety of former Parliaments, the ancient and univerſall practiſe of Chriſtian Churches : the Rights and Priviledges of particular men: Nor yet any thing offered in lieu, or in the roome of what muſt be deſtroyed, which might at once reach the good end of the others Inſtitution

and

and alſo ſupply its pretended defects, reforme its abuſes, and ſatisfie ſober and wiſe men, not with ſoft and ſpecious words, pretending zeale and ſpeciall piety, but with pregnant and ſolid reaſons both divine and humane, which might juſtifie the abruptneſſe and neceſſity of ſuch vaſt alterations.

But in all their Propoſitions I can obſerve little of theſe kinds, or to theſe ends: Nothing of any Laws diſjointed, which are to be reſtored; of any right invaded; of any juſtice to be un-obſtructed; of any compenſation to be made; of any impartiall reformation to be granted; to all, or any of which Reaſon, Religion, true Policy, or any other humane motives, might induce me.

But as to the maine matters propounded by them at any time, in which is either great novelty, or difficulty. I perceive that what were formerly looked upon as Factions in the State, and Schiſmes in ſ̄ Church, and ſo, puniſhable by the Lawes, have now the confidence, by vulgar clamours, and aſſiſtance(chiefly) to demand not onely Tolerations of themſelves, in their vanity, novelty, and confuſion; but alſo Abolition of the Lawes

Lawes againſt them: and a totall extirpation of that Government, whoſe Rights they have a mind to invade.

This, as to the maine; other Propoſitions are (for the moſt part) but as waſte paper in which thoſe are wrapped up to preſent them ſomewhat more handſomely.

Nor doe I ſo much wonder at the variety, and horrible novelty of ſome Propoſitions, (there being nothing ſo monſtrous, which ſome fancies are not prone to long for.)

This caſts me into, not an admiration, but an extaſie, how ſuch things ſhould have the fortune to be propounded in the name of the two Houſes of the Parliament of *England*: among whom, I am very confident, there was not a fourth part of the Members of either Houſe, whoſe judgments free, ſingle, and apart did approve or deſire ſuch deſtructive changes in the Government of the Church

I am perſwaded there remaines in farre the Major part of both Houſes, (if free, and full) ſo much Learning, Reaſon, Religion, and juſt moderation, as to know how to ſever between the uſe and the abuſe of things; the inſtitution, and the corruption, the Govern-

Government and the Miſ-govern-
ment, the Primitive Paterns, an
the aberrations or blottings of afte
Copies.

Sure they could not all, upon ſ
little, or no Reaſon (as yet produce
to the contrary) ſo ſoon renounce a
regard to the Laws in force, to Ant
quity, to the piety of their reformi
Progenitors, to the proſperity of fo
mer times in this Church and Stat
under the preſent Government of t
Church.

Yet, by a ſtrange fatality, the
men ſuffer, either by their abſenc
or ſilence, or negligence, or ſupi
credulity (believing that all is gol
which is guilded with ſhewes of zea
and reformation) their private diſſe
ting in Judgement to be drawne int
the common ſewer or ſtreame of th
preſent vogue and humour; whi
hath its chief riſe and abetment fro
thoſe popular clamours and Tumult
which ſerved to give life and ſtrengt
to the infinite activity of thoſe men
who ſtudied with all diligence, an
policy, to improve to their Innov
ting deſignes, the preſent diſtract
ons.

Such Armies of Propoſitions ha
vin

ving ſo little, in My Iudgement, of Reaſon, Iuſtice, and Religion on their ſide, as they had Tumult and Faction for their riſe, muſt not go alone, but ever be backt and ſeconded, with Armies of Soldiers: Though the ſecond ſhould prevaile againſt my Perſon, yet the firſt ſhall never overcome me, further than I ſee cauſe; for, I look not at their number and power ſo much, as I weigh their Reaſon and Iuſtice.

Had the two Houſes firſt ſued out their livery, and once effectually redeemed themſelves from the Wardſhip of the Tumults, (which can be no other than the Hounds that attend the cry and hollow of thoſe men, who hunt after Factions, and private Deſignes, to the ruine of Church and State.)

Did my judgement tell me, that the Propoſitions ſent to me were the Reſults of the Major part of their Votes, who exerciſe their freedome, as well as they have a right to ſit in Parliament: I ſhould then ſuſpect my own Iudgment, for not ſpeedily and fully concurring with every one of them.

For, I have charity enough to think, there are wiſe men among

them: and humility to think, that, as in some things I may want; so 'tis fit I should use their advise, which is the end for which I called them to a Parliament. But yet I cannot allow their wisdome such a compleatnesse and inerrability as to exclude My self; since none of them hath that part to Act, that Trust to discharge, nor that Estate and Honour to preserve as my selfe; without whose Reason concurrent with theirs (as the Suns influence is necessary in all Natures productions) they cannot beget, or bring forth any one compleat and authoritative Act of publique wisdome, which makes the Lawes.

But the unreasonableness of some Propositions is not more evident to me than this is, That they are not the joynt and free desires of those in their Major number, who are of right to Sit and Vote in Parliament.

For, many of them savour very strong of that old leaven of Innovations, masked under the name of Reformation; (which in my two last famous Predecessours daies, heaved at, and sometime threatned both Prince and Parliaments:) But, I am sure was never wont so far to infect the whole masse

masse of the Nobility and Gentry of this Kingdome; how ever it disperſed among the Vulgar: Nor was it likely ſo ſuddenly to taynt the Major part of both Houſes, as that they ſhould unanimouſly deſire, and affect ſo enormous and dangerous innovations in Church and State, contrary to their former education, practiſe, and judgement.

Not that I am ignorant, how the choice of many Members was carried by much faction in the Countries; ſome thirſting after nothing more, than a paſſionate revenge of what ever diſpleaſure they had conceived againſt me, my Court, or the Clergy.

But all Reaſon bids me impute theſe ſudden & vaſt deſires of change to thoſe few, who armed themſelves with the many-headed, and many-handed Tumults.

No leſſe doth Reaſon, Honour, and Safety both of Church and ſtate command me, to chew ſuch morſels, before I let them downe; If the ſtraitneſſe of my Conſcience will not give me leave to ſwallow down ſuch Cables, as others doe of Sacriledge, and injuſtice both to God and man, they

have no more cauſe to quarrell with me, than for this, that my throat is not ſo wide as theirs. Yet by Gods help I am reſolved, That nothing of paſſion, or peeviſhneſſe, or liſt to contradict, or vanity to ſhew my negative power, ſhall have any byas upon my judgment, to make me gratifie my will, by denying any thing, which my Reaſon and Conſcience commands me not.

Nor on the other ſide, will I conſent to more, than Reaſon, Iuſtice, Honour, and Religion perſwade me, to be for Gods glory, the Churches good, my Peoples welfare, and my owne peace.

I will ſtudy to ſatisfie my Parliament, and my People; but I will never, for feare, or flattery, gratifie any Faction, how potent ſoever; for this were to nouriſh the diſeaſe, & oppreſſe the body.

Although many mens loyalty and prudence are terrified from giving me, that free, and faithfull counſell which they are able and willing to impart, and I may want; yet none can hinder me from craving of the counſell of that Mighty Counſellour, who can both ſuggeſt what is beſt, and incline

cline my heart ſtedfaſtly to follow it.

O thou firſt and eternall Reaſon, whoſe wiſdome is fortified with omnipotency, furniſh thy Servant, firſt with cleare diſcoveries of Truth, Reaſon, and Juſtice, in My Underſtanding: then ſo confirme My will and reſolution to adhere to them, that no terrours, injuries, or oppreſſions of my Enemis may ever inforce me againſt thoſe rules, which thou by them haſt planted in My Conſcience.

Thou never madſt me a King, that I ſhould be leſſe than a Man; and not dare to ſay, Yea, or Nay, as I ſee cauſe; which freedome is not denied to the meaneſt creature, that hath the uſe of Reaſon, and liberty of ſpeech.

Shall that be blameable in Me, which is commendable veracity and conſtancy in others?

Thou ſeeſt, O Lord, with what partiality, and injuſtice, they deny that freedome to Me their KING, which thou haſt given to all Men; and which Themſelves pertinaciouſly challenge to themſelves; while they are ſo tender of the leaſt breach of their priviledges.

To Thee I make my ſupplication, who canſt guide us by an unerring rule, through the perplexed Labyrinths of our

owne thoughts, and other mens propoſalls; which, I have ſome cauſe to ſuſpect, are purpoſely caſt as ſnares, that by My granting or denying them, I might be more entangled in thoſe difficultics, wherewith they lie in wait to afflict Me.

O Lord, make thy way plaine before Me.

Let not My owne ſinfull paſſions cloud, or divert thy ſacred ſuggeſtions.

Let thy glory be my end, thy word my rule, and then thy will be done.

I cannot pleaſe all, I care not to pleaſe ſome men; If I may be happy to pleaſe thee, I need not feare whom I diſpleaſe.

Thou that makeſt the wiſdome of the world fooliſhneſſe, and takeſt in their owne devices, ſuch as are wiſe in their owne conceits, make me wiſe by thy Truth, for thy honour, my Kingdoms generall good, and my owne ſoules ſalvation, and I ſhall not much regard the worlds opinion, or diminution of me.

The leſſe wiſdome they are willing to impute to me, the more they ſhall be convinced of thy wiſdome directing me, while I deny nothing fit to be granted, out of croſneſſe, or humour; nor grant any thing which is to be denied, out of any feare, or flattery of men.

Suffer me not to be guilty, or unhappy, by wil

willing or inconsiderate advancing any mens desiignes, which are injurious to the publique good, while I confirme them by my consent.

Nor let me be any occasion to hinder or defraud the publique of what is best, by any morose or preverse dissentings.

Make me so humbly charitable, as to follow their advise, when it appeares to be for the publique good, of whose affections to me, I have yet but few evidences to assure Me.

Thou canst as well blesse honest errours as blast fraudulent counsells.

Since we must give an account of every evill and idle word in private, at thy Tribunall; Lord make me carefull of those solemne Declarations of my mind which are like to have the greatest influence upon the Publique; either for woe, or weale.

The lesse others consider what they aske, make me the more solicitous what I answer.

Though Mine owne, and My Peoples pressures are grievous, and peace would be very pleasing; yet Lord, never suffer me to avoid the one, or purchase the other, with the least expense or wast of my Conscience; whereof thou O Lord onely art deservedly more Master than My self.

12. *Vpon the Rebellion, & troubles in* Ireland.

THe Commotions in *Ireland* were so sudden, and so violent, that it was hard at first either to discern the rise, or apply a remedy to that precipitant Rebellion.

Indeed, that sea of blood, which hath there been cruelly and barbarously shed, is enough to drown any man in eternall both infamy and misery, whom God shall find the malicious Author or Instigator of its effusion.

It fell out, as a most unhappy advantage to some mens malice against me; that when they had impudence enough to lay any thing to my charge, this bloody opportunity should be offered them, with which I must be aspersed. Although there was nothing which could be more abhorred of me, being so full of sinne against God, disloyalty to my self, and destructive to my Subjects.

Some men took it very ill not to be beleeved, when they affirmed, that what the Irish Rebells did, was done with my privity (at least) if not by my

my Commiſſion. But theſe knew too well, that it is no news for ſome of my Subjects to fight, not only without my Commiſſion, but againſt my command, and Perſon too; Yet all the while to pretend, they fight by my Authority, and for my ſafety.

I would to God, the *Iriſh* had nothing to alleadge for their imitation againſt thoſe, whoſe blame muſt needs be the greater, by how much Proteſtant Principles are more againſt all Rebellion againſt Princes, then thoſe of Papiſts. Nor will the goodneſſe of mens intentions excuſe the ſcandall, and contagion of their Examples.

But who ever faile of their Duty toward me, I muſt bear the blame, this honour my enemies have alwaies done me, to think moderate injuries not proportionate to me, nor competent trialls, either of my patience under them, or my pardon of them.

Therefore with exquiſite malice they have mixed the *gall and vinegar* of falſitie and contempt, with the *Cup* of my affliction; Charging me not only with untruths, but ſuch, as wherein I have the greateſt ſhare of loſſe and diſhonour by what is committed;

whereby (in all Policy, Reaſon, and Religion, having leaſt cauſe to give the leaſt conſent, and moſt grounds of utter deteſtation) I might be repreſented by them to the world the more inhumane and barbarous: Like ſome Cyclopick monſter, whom nothing will ſerve to eat and drink, but the fleſh and blood of my own Subjects; in whoſe common welfare my intereſt lies as much as ſome mens doth in their perturbations: who think they cannot do well but in evill times, nor ſo cunningly as in laying the *odium* of thoſe ſad events on others, wherewith themſelves are moſt pleaſed, and whereof they have been not the leaſt occaſion.

And certainly, 'tis thought by many wiſe men, that the prepoſterous rigour, and unreaſonable ſeverity, which ſome men carried before them in *England*, was not the leaſt incentive, that kindled, and blew up into thoſe horrid flames, the ſparkes of diſcontent, which wanted not pre-diſpoſed fewell for Rebellion in *Ireland*; where diſpair being added to their former diſcontents, and the fears of utter extirpation to their wonted oppreſſions, it was eaſie to provoke to an

an open Rebellion, a people prone enough, to break out to all exorbitant violence, both by some Principles of their Religion, & the naturall desires of liberty; both to exempt themselves frō their presēt restraints, and to prevent those after rigours, wherewith they saw themselves apparently threatned, by the covetous zeal, and uncharitable fury of some men, who think it a great Argument of the truth of their Religion, to endure no other but their own.

God knows, as I can with Truth wash my hands in Innocency, as to any guilt in that Rebellion; so I might wash them in my Tears, as to the sad apprehensions I had, to see it spread so farre, and make such waste. And this in a time, when distractions, and jealousies here in *England*, made most men rather intent to their own safety, or designes they were driving, then to the releif of those, who were every day inhumanely butchered in *Ireland*: Whose tears and blood might, if nothing else, have quenched, or at least for a time, represséd and smothered those sparks of Civill dissentions, and jealousies, which in *England* some men industriously scattered.

would

I would to God no man had been leſſe affected with *Irelands* ſad eſtate then my ſelf; I offered to go my ſelf in Perſon upon that expedition; But ſome men were either afraid I ſhould have any one Kingdom quieted; or loath they were to ſhoot at any mark here leſſe then my ſelf; or that any ſhould have the glory of my deſtruction but themſelves. Had my many offers been accepted, I am confident neither the ruine had been ſo great; nor the calamity ſo long, nor the remedy ſo deſperate.

So that, next to the ſin of thoſe, who began that Rebellion, theirs muſt needs be: who either hindred the ſpeedy ſuppreſſing of it by Domeſtick diſſentions, or diverted the Aides, or exaſperated the Rebells to the moſt deſperate reſolutions and actions, by threatning all extremities, not only to the known heads, and chief incendiaries, but even to the whole community of that Nation; Reſolving to deſtroy Root & Branch, men, women and children; without any regard to thoſe uſuall pleas for mercy, which Conquerours, not wholly barbarous, are wont to hear from their own breaſts, in behalf of thoſe

those, whose oppressive Feares, rather then their malice, engaged them; or whose imbecility for Sex and Age was such, as they could neither lift up a hand against them, nor distinguish between their right hand and their left: Which prepostrous, and (I think) un-evangelicall Zeall is too like that of the rebuked Disciples, who would go no lower in their revenge, then to call for fire from Heaven upon whole Cities, for the repuls or neglect of a few; or like that of *Iacobs* sons, which the Father both blamed and cursed: chusing rather to use all extremities, which might drive men to desperate obstinacy, then to apply moderate remedies; such as might punish some with examplary justice, yet disarm others, with tenders of mercy upon their submission, and our protection of them, from the fury of those, who would soon drown them, if they refused to swim down the popular stream with them.

But some kind of Zeall counts all mercifull moderation, luke-warmnes; and had rather be cruell then counted cold, and is not seldome more greedy to kill the Bear for his skin, then for any harm he hath done. The confis-

cation

cation of mens estates, being more beneficiall, then the charity of saving their lives, or reforming their errours.

When all proportionable succours of the poor Protestants in *Ireland* (who were dayly massacred, and overborn with numbers of now desperate Enemies) were diverted and obstructed here; I was earnestly entreated, and generally advised by the chief of the Protestant party there, to get them some respite and breathing by a *Cessation*, without which, they saw no probability (unlesse by miracle) to preserve the remnant that had yet escaped: God knows with how much commiseration and solicitous caution I carried on that busines, by Persons of Honour and Integrity, that so I might neither incourage the Rebells Insolence, nor discourage the Protestants Loyalty and Patience.

Yet when this was effected in the best sort, that the necessity and difficulty of affaires would then permit, I was then to suffer again in my reputation and Honour, because I suffered not the Rebells utterly to devour the remaining handfuls of the Protestants there.

I thought, that in all reason, the gaining

gaining of that reſpite could not be ſo much to the Rebells advantages (which ſome have highly calumniated againſt me) as it might have been for the Proteſtants future, as well as preſent ſafety; If during the time of that *Ceſſation*, ſome men had had the grace to have laid *Ireland's* ſad condition more to heart; and laid aſide thoſe violent motions, which were here carried on by thoſe, that had better skil to let blood then to ſtanch it.

But in all the miſconſtructions of my actions, (which are prone to find more credulity in men to what is falſe, and evill, than love or charity to what is true and good) as I have no Judge but God above me, ſo I can have comfort to appeall to his Omniſcience, who doth not therefore deny my Innocence, becauſe he is pleaſed ſo farre to try my patience, as he did his ſervant *Iob's*.

I have enough to do to look to my own Conſcience, and the faithfull diſcharge of my Truſt as a KING; I have ſcarce leiſure to conſider thoſe ſwarmes of reproaches, which iſſue out of ſome mens mouthes & hearts, as eaſily as ſmoke, or ſparks do out of a furnace; Much leſſe to make ſuch prolix

prolix Apologies, as might give those men satisfaction: who conscious to their own depth of wickedness, are loath to beleeve any man not to be as bad as themselves.

'Tis kingly to do well, and hear ill: If I can but act the one, I shall not much regard to bear the other.

I thank God I can hear with patience, as bad as my worst enemies can falsly say. And I hope I shall still do better then they desire, or deserve I should.

I beleeve it will at last appear, that they who first began to embroyle my other Kingdomes, are in great part guilty, if not of the first letting out, yet of the not-timely stopping those horrid effusions of blood in *Ireland*

Which (whatever my Enemies please to say, or think) I look upon, as that of my other Kingdomes, exhausted out of my own veins; no man being so much weakned by it; as my self; And I hope, though mens unsatiable cruelties never will, yet the mercy of God will at length say to his justice, *It is enough*: and command the Sword of Civill Warres to sheath it self: his mercifull justice intending, I trust, not our utter confusion,

ion, but our cure: the abatement of our sinnes, not the desolating of these Nations.

O my God, let those infinite mercies prevent us once again, which I and My Kingdomes have formerlie abused, and can never deserve, should be restored.

Thou seest how much cruelties among Christians is acted under the colour of Religion; as if we could not be Christians, unlesse we crucifie one another.

Because we have not more loved thy Truth, and practised in charitie, Thou hast suffered a Spirit of Errour and bitternesse, of mutuall and mortall hatred to rise among us.

O Lord, forgive wherein we have sinned, and sanctifie what we have suffered.

Let our Repentance be our recoverie, as our great sinnes have been our ruine.

Let not the miseries I and my Kingdomes have hitherto suffered seem small to thee: but make our sinnes appear to our Consciences, as they are represented in the glasse of thy judgements; for thou never punishest small failings with so severe afflictions.

O therefore, according to the multitude of thy great mercies, pardon our sinnes, & remove thy judgements which are verie

manie, and veric heavie.

Yet let our ſinnes be ever more grievous to us, then thy judgements; and make us more willing to repent, than to be relieved: firſt give us the peace of penitent Conſciences, and then the tranquillitie of united Kingdomes.

In the Sea of our Saviours blood drown our ſinnes, and through this red Sea of our own blood, bring us at laſt to a ſtate of pietie, peace, and plentie.

As my publique relations to all, make Me ſhare in all My Subjects ſufferings; ſo give Me ſuch a pious ſenſe of them, as becomes a Chriſtian King, and a loving Father of My People.

Let the ſcandalous and unjuſt reproaches caſt upon Me, be as a breath, more to kindle my compaſſion; Give Me grace to heap charitable coales of fire upon their heads to melt them, whoſe malice or cruell Zeal hath kindled, or hindred the quenching of thoſe flames, which have ſo much waſted My three Kingdoms.

O reſcue and aſſiſt thoſe poor Proteſtantes in Ireland, *whom thou haſt hither to preſerved.*

And lead thoſe in the waies of thy ſaving Truths, whoſe ignorance or errours have filled them with rebellious and deſtructive principles; which they act under

a

an opinion, That they do thee good ſervice.

Let the hand of thy juſtice be againſt thoſe, who maliciouſlie and deſpitefullie have raiſed, or fomented thoſe cruell and deſperate Warres.

Thou that art far from deſtroying the Innocent with the Guiltie, and the Erroneous with the Malicious; Thou that hadſt pitie on Niniveh *for the manie Children that were therein, give not over the whole ſtock of that populous and ſeduced Nation, to the wrath of thoſe, whoſe covetouſneſſe makes them cruell; nor to their anger, which is too fierce, and therefore juſtlie curſed.*

Preſerve, if it be thy will, in the midſt of the furnace of thy ſevere juſtice a Poſteritie, which may praiſe thee for thy mercie.

And deal with Me, not according to mans unjuſt reproaches, but according to the Innocencie of my hands in thy ſight.

If I have deſired, or delighted in the wofull day of My Kingdomes calamities, if I have not earneſtlie ſtudied, and faithfullie endeavoured the preventing and compoſing of theſe bloodie diſtractions; then let thy hand be againſt Me, and My Fathers houſe.

O Lord, thou ſeeſt I have enemies enough of Men; as I need not, ſo I ſhould

not dare thus to imprecate thy curse on Me and Mine, if my Conscience did not witnesse My integrity, which thou O Lord knowest right well; But I trust not to My own merit, but thy Mercies; spare us O Lord, and be not angrie with us for ever.

13. *Vpon*

13. *Vpon the Calling in of the* Scots, *and their Comming.*

THe *Scots* are a Nation, upon whom I have not onely commonties of Nature, Soveraignty, and Bounty, with My Father of blessed memory; but also speciall, & late obligations of favours, having gratified the active Spirits among them so farre, that I seemed to many, to prefer the desires of that Party, before My owne interest and Honour. But, I see, Royall bounty emboldens some men to aske, & act beyond all bounds of modesty and gratitude.

My charity, and Act of Pacification, forbids me to reflect on former passages; wherein I shall ever be farre from letting any mans ingratitude, or inconstancy, make me repent of what I granted them, for the publique good: I pray God it may so prove.

The comming againe of that Party into *England*, with an Army, onely to comforme this Church to their late New modell, cannot but seeme as unreasonable, as they would have thought

thought the ſame meaſure offered from hence to themſelves.

Other errand I could never underſtand, they had, (beſides thoſe common and vulgar flouriſhes for Religion and Liberty) ſave only to confirme the Presbyterian Copy they had ſet, by making this Church to write after them, though it were in bloudy Characters.

Which deſigne and end, whether it will juſtifie the uſe of ſuch violent meanes, before the divine Juſtice: I leave to their Conſciences to judge, who have already felt the miſery of the meanes, but not reaped the benefit of the end, either in this Kingdome, or that.

Such knots and croſneſſe of grain being objected here, as will hardly ſuffer that forme which they cry up, as the only juſt reformation, and ſetling of Government and Diſcipline in Churches, to go on ſo ſmoothly here, as it might doe in *Scotland*; and was by them imagined would have done in *England*, when ſo many of the *Engliſh* Clergy, through levity, or diſcontent, if no worſe paſſion, ſuddenly quitted their former engagements to Epiſcopacy, and faced about

bout to their Presbytery.

It cannot but seeme either passion, or some self-seeking, more then true Zeal, and pious Discretion, for any forraigne State or Church to prescribe such medicines only for others, which themselves have used, rather successefully then commendably; not considering that the same Physick on different constitutions, will have different operations? That may kill one, which doth but cure another.

Nor do I know any such tough and malignant humours in the constitution of the *English* Church, which gentler applications then those of an Army, might not easily have removed: Nor is it so proper to hew out religious Reformations by the Sword, as to polish them by faire and equall disputations among those that are most concerned in the differences, whom not force, but Reason ought to convince.

But their design now, seemed rather to cut off all disputation here, then to procure a fair and equall one: For, it was concluded there, that the *English* Clergy must conforme to the *Scots* patterne before ever they could be heard, what they could say for

themselves, or against the others way.

I could have wished fairer proceedings both for their credits, who urge things with such violence; and for other mens Consciences too, who can receive little satisfaction in these points which are maintained rather by Souldiers fighting in the Field, than Schollars disputing in free and learned Synods.

Sure in matters of Religion those truths gain most on mens Judgements and Consciences, which are least urged with secular violence, which weakens Truth with prejudices; and is unreasonable to be used, till such meanes of rationall conviction hath been applied, as leaving no excuse for ignorance, condemnes mens obstinacy to deserved penalties.

Which no charity wil easily suspect of so many learned and pious Church-men in *England*; who being alwayes bred up, and conformable to the Government of Episcopacy, cannot so soon renounce both their former opinion and practise, only because that Party of the *Scots* will needs, by force assist a like Party here, either to drive all Ministers, as sheep into

into the common fold of Presbytery, or destroy them; at least fleece them by depriving them of the benefit of their Flocks. If the *Scotch* sole Presbytery were proved to be the only institution of Iesus Christ, for all Churches Government; yet I believe it would be hard to prove that Christ had given those *Scots*, or any other of my Subjects, Commission by the Sword to set it up in any of my Kingdomes, without my Consent.

What respect and obedience Christ and his Apostles pay'd to the chief Governours of States, where they lived, is very clear in the Gospel; but that he, or they ever commanded to set up such a parity of Presbyters, and in such away as these *Scots* endeavour I think is not very disputable.

If Presbytery in such a supremacy be an institution of Christ; sure it differs from al other? and is the first and only point of Christianity, that was to be planted and watered with so much Christian bloud; whose effusions run in a stream so contrary to that of the Primitive planters, both of Christianity and Episcopacy, which was with patient shedding of their own bloud, not violent drawing other

mens; sure there is too much of man in it, to have much of Christ, none of whose institutions were carried on or begun with the temptations of Covetousnesse or Ambition; of both which this is vehemently suspected.

Yet was there never any thing upon the point, which those *Scots* had by Army or Commissioners to move me with, by their many Solemne obtestations, and pious threatnings, but only this; to represent to me the wonderfull necessity of setting up their Presbytery in *England*, to avoid the further miseries of a Warre; which some men cheifly on this designe at first had begun, and now further engaged themselves to continue.

What hinders that any Sects, Schismes, or Heresies, if they can get but numbers, strength and opportunity, may not, according to this opinion and patterne, set up their wayes by the like methods of violence? al which Presbytery seekes to suppresse and render odious under those names; when wise and learned men think, that nothing hath more marks of Schisme, and Sectarisme, then this Presbyterian way, both as to the Ancient, and still most Universall Way of

of the Church-goverment, and ſpecially as to the particular Lawes and Conſtitutions of this *Engliſh* Church, which are not yet repealed, nor are like to be for me, till I ſee more Rationall and Religious motives, then ſouldiers uſe to carry in their Knap ſacks.

But we muſt leave the ſucceſſe of all to God, who hath many wayes (having firſt taken us off from the folly of our opinions, and fury of our paſſion) to teach us thoſe rules of true Reaſon, and *peaceable Wiſdome, which is from above*, tending moſt to Gods glory, and his Churches good; which I think my ſelf ſo much the more bound in Conſcience to attend, with the moſt judicious Zeal and care, by how much I eſteem the Church above the State, the glory of Chriſt above mine Own; and the ſalvation of mens Soules above the preſervation of their Bodies and Eſtates.

Nor may any men, I think, without ſinne and preſumption, forcibly endeavour to caſt the Churches under my care and tuition, into the moulds they have fancied, and faſhioned to their deſignes, till they have firſt gained my conſent, and reſolved, both my

my own and other mens Consciences by the strength of their Reasons.

Other violent motions, which are neither Manly, Christian, nor Loyall, shall never either shake or settle my Religion; nor any mans else, who knowes what Religion means: And how farre it is removed from all Faction, whose proper engine is force, the arbitratour of Beasts, not of reasonable men, much lesse of humble Christians, and loyall Subjects, in matters of Religion.

But men are prone to have such high conceits of themselves, that they care not what cost they lay out upon their opinions; especially those, that have some temptation of gain, to recompence their losses and hazards.

Yet I was not more scandalized at the *Scots* Armies comming in against my will, and their forfeiture of so many obligations of duty, and gratitude to me: then I wondered, how those here, could so much distrust Gods assistance; who so much pretended Gods cause to the People, as if they had the certainty of some divine Revelation; considering they were more then competently furnished with my Subjects Armes and Ammu-

Ammunition; my Navie by Sea, my Forts, Castles, and Cities by Land.

But I find, that men jealous of the Justifiableneſſe of their doings, and deſignes before God, never think they have humane ſtrength enough to carry their worke on, ſeem it never ſo plauſible to the People; what cannot be juſtified in Law or Religion, had need be fortified with Power.

And yet ſuch is the inconſtancy that attends all minds engaged in violent motion, that whom ſome of them one while earneſtly invite to come into their aſſiſtance; others of them ſoone after are weary of, and with nauſeating caſt them out: what one Party thought to rivett to a ſetledneſs by the ſtrength and influence of the *Scots*, that the other rejects and contemnes; at once, deſpiſing the Cirk Government, and Diſcipline of the *Scots*, and fruſtrating the ſucceſſe of ſo chargeable, more then charitable aſſiſtance: For, ſure the Church of *England* might have purchaſed at a farre cheaper rate, the truth and happineſſe of Reformed government and diſcipline (if it had been wanting) though it had entertained the beſt Divines of Chriſtendome for their advice

vice in a ful and free Synod; which, I was ever willing to, and desirous of, that matters being impartially setled, might be more satisfactory to all, and more durable.

But much of Gods justice, and mans folly will at length be discovered, through all the filmes and pretensions of Religion, in which Politicians wrap up their designes; In vaine do men hope to build their piety on the ruines of Loyalty. Nor can those *considerations* or designs be durable, when Subjects make bankrupt of their Allegiance, under pretence of setting up a quicker trade for Religion.

But, as my best Subjects of *Scotland* never deserted me, so I cannot think that the most are gone so far from me, in a prodigality of their love and respects toward me, as to make me to despaire of their returne; when besides the bonds of nature and Conscience, which they have to me, all Reason and true Policy wil teach them, that their chiefest interest consists in their fidelity to the Crowne, not in their serviceableness to any Party of the People, to a neglect and betraying of my Safety and Honour

nour for their owne advantages: However the leſſe cauſe I have to truſt to men, the more I ſhall apply my ſelf to God.

The Troubles of my Soule are enlarged, O Lord, bring thou me out of My diſtreſſe.

Lord direct thy Servant in the wayes of that pious ſimplicity, which is the beſt policy.

Deliver Me from the combined ſtrength of thoſe, who have ſo much of the Serpents ſubtilty, that they forget the Doves Innocency.

Though hand joyne in hand, yet let them not prevaile againſt My ſoule, to the betraying of My Conſcience, and Honour.

Thou, O Lord, canſt turne the hearts of thoſe Parties in both Nations, as thou didſt the men of Judah *and* Iſrael, *to reſtore* David *with as much loyall zeale, as they did with inconſtancy and eagerneſſe purſue Him.*

Preſerve the love of thy Truth and uprightneſſe in Me, and I ſhall not deſpaire of My Subjects affections returning towards Me.

Thou canſt ſome cauſe the overflowing Seas to ebbe, and retire back again

again to the bounds which thou haſt appointed for them.

O My God, I truſt in thee; let me not be aſhamed; let not My enemies triumph over Me.

Let them be aſhamed who tranſgreſſe without a cauſe; let them be turned back that perſecute My Soule.

Let integrity and uprightneſſe preſerve Me, for I wait on thee O Lord.

Redeeme thy Church, O God, out of all its Troubles.

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14. *Upon*

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14. *Vpon the Covenant.*

THe *Presbyterian Scots* are not to be hired at the ordinary rate of Auxiliaries; nothing will induce them to engage, till those that call them in, have pawned their Soules to them, by a Solemne League and Covenant.

Where many engines of religious and faire pretensions are brought chiefly to batter, or raise Episcopacy, This they make the grand evill Spirit which, with some other Imps purposely added, to make it more odious, and terrible to the Vulgar, must by so solemne a charm and exorcism be cast out of this Church, after more than a thousand yeares possession here, from the first plantation of Christianity in this Island, and an universall prescription of time and practise in all other Churches since the Apostles times, till this last Century.

But no Antiquity must plead for it, Presbytery, like a young Heyre, thinks the Father hath lived long enough, and impatient not to be in the Bishops Chaire and Authority

(though Lay-men go away with th
Revenues) all art is used to sink Epi
copacy, and lanch Presbytery i
England; which was lately boyed u
in *Scotland* by the like artifice of
Covenant.

Although I am unsatisfied wit
many passages in that Covenant (som
referring to My selfe with very dub
ous and dangerous limitations) yet
chiefly wonder at the designe an
drift touching the Discipline an
Government of the Church; and suc
a manner of carying them on to ne
waies, by Oaths & Covenants, whe
it is hard for men to be engaged by n
lesse, then swearing for, or again
those things, which are of no clear
morall necessity; but very disputable
and controverted among learned an
godly men: whereto the applicatio
of Oaths can hardly be made and e
joyned with that judgment, and ce
tainty in ones selfe, or that charity
candour to others of different opin
on, as I think Religion require
which never refuses faire and equabl
deliberations: yea, and dissentings too
in matters onely probable.

The enjoyning of Oaths upon pe
ple must needs in things doubtfull b
da

ngerous, as in things unlawfull, mnable; and no leſſe ſuperfluous, here former religious and legall En-gements, bound men ſufficiently, to neceſſary duties. Nor can I ſee ow they will reconcile ſuch an In-ovating Oath and Covenant, with at former Proteſtation which was lately taken, to maintaine the eligion eſtabliſhed in the Church of *ngland*: ſince they count Diſcipline great a part of Religion.

But ambitious minds never think ey have laid ſnares and ginnes ough to catch and hold the Vulgar edulity: for by ſuch politicke and emingly pious ſtratagems, they ink to keep the *populacy* faſt to eir Parties under the terrour of per-y: Whereas certainly all honeſt d wiſe men ever thought them-ves ſufficiently bound by former s of Religion, Allegiance, and wes, to God and man.

Nor can ſuch after-Contracts, de-ſed and impoſed by a few men in a clared Party, without my conſent, d without any like power or *prece-t* from Gods or mans laws, be ever ought by judicious men ſufficient her to abſolve or ſlacken thoſe mo-

rall and eternall bonds of duty which lie upon al my Subjects consciences both to God and me.

Yet as things now stand, good men shall least offend God or me, by keeping their Covenant in honest and lawfull waies; since I have the charity to think, that the chief end of the Covenant in such mens intentions, was, to preserve Religion in purity, and the Kingdoms in peace: To other then such ends & meanes they cannot think themselves engaged; nor wil those, that have any true touches of Conscience endeavour to carry on the best designes, (much lesse such as are, and will be daily more apparently factious and ambitious) by any unlawfull meanes, under that title of the Covenant: unlesse they dare preferre ambigious, dangerous and unauthorized novelties, before their knowne and sworne duties, which are indispensable, both to God and My selfe.

I am prone to believe and hope, That many who took the Covenant, are yet firme to this judgment, That such later Vowes, Oaths, or Leagues, can never blot out those former gravings, and characters, which by just and

and lawfull Oaths were made upon their Soules.

That which makes such Confederations by way of solemn Leagues & Covenants more to be suspected, is, That they are the common road, used in all factious & powerfull perturbations of State or Church: Where formalities of extraordinary zeal and piety are never more studied and elaborate, then, when Politicians most agitate desperate designes against all that is setled, or sacred in Religion, and Laws, which by such scrues are cunningly, yet forcibly wrested by secret steps, and lesse sensible degrees, from their known rule and wonted practise, to comply with the humours of those men, who ayme to subdue all to their owne will and power, under the disguises of Holy Combinations.

Which cords and wythes will hold mens Consciences no longer, then force attends and twists them: for every man soone growes his owne Pope, and easily absolves himselfe of those ties, which, not the commands of Gods word, or the Lawes of the Land, but onely the subtilty and terrour of a Party casts upon on him; either superfluous and vaine, when

they were sufficiently tied before; or fraudulent and injurious, if by such after-ligaments they find the Imposers really ayming to dissolve, or suspend their former, just, and necessary obligations.

Indeed, such illegall waies seldome, or never, intend the engaging men more to duties, but onely to Parties; therefore it is not regarded how they keep their Covenants in point of piety pretended, provided they adhere firmly to the Party and Designe intended.

I see the Imposers of it are content to make their Covenant like Manna (not that it came from Heaven, as this did) agreeable to every mans palate and relish, who will but swallow it: They admit any mens senses of it, though diverse or contrary; with any salvoes, cautions, and reservations, so as they crosse not the chiefe Designe which is laid against the Church, and Me.

It is enough if they get but the reputation of a seeming encrease to their Party; So little doe men remember that God is not mocked.

In such latitudes of sense, *I* believe many that love Me, and the Church well.

well, may have taken the Covenant, who yet are not so fondly and superstitiously taken by it, as now to act clearly against both all piety and loyalty: who first yeilded to it, more to prevent that imminent violence and ruine, which hung over their heads in case they wholly refused it, than for any value of it, or devotion to it.

Wherein, the latitude of some generall Clauses may (perhaps) serve somewhat to relieve them, as of *Doing and endeavouring what lawfullie they may*, in *their Places and Callings*, and *according to the Word of God*: for, these (indeed) carry no man beyond those bounds of good Conscience, which are certaine and fixed, either in Gods Lawes, as to the generall; or the Lawes of the State and Kingdome, as to the particular regulation and exercise of mens duties.

I would to God such as glory most in the name of *Covenanters*, would keep themselves within those lawfull bounds, to which God hath called them: Surely it were the best way to expiate the rashnesse of taking it: which must needs then appeare, when besides the want of a full and

lawfull Authority at first to enjoyne it, it shall actually be carried on beyond and against those ends which were in it specified and pretended. I willingly forgive such mens taking ſ Covenant, who keep it within such bounds of Piety, Law, and Loyalty, as can never hurt either the Church, My self, or the Publique Peace: Against which, no mans lawfull Calling can engage him.

As for that Reformation of the Church, which the Covenant pretends, I cannot think it just or comely, that by the partiall advise of a few Divines, (of so soft and servile tempers, as disposed them to so sudden acting and compliance, contrary to their former judgments, profession, and practise) such foule scandals and suspitions should be cast upon the Doctrine and Government of the Church of *England*, as was never done (that I have heard) by any that deserved the name of *Reformed Churches* abroad, not by any men of learning and candour at home: all whose judgments I cannot but prefer before any mens now factiously engaged.

No man can be more forward than My self to carry on all due Reformations,

tions, with mature judgement, and a good Conſcience, in what things I ſhall (after impartiall adviſe) be, by Gods Word, and right reaſon, convinced to be amiſſe, I have offered more than ever the fulleſt, freeſt, and wiſeſt Parliaments did deſire.

But the ſequele of ſome mens actions makes it evident, that the maine Reformation intended, is the abaſing of Epiſcopacy into Presbytery, and the robbing the Church of its Lands and Revenues: For, no men have been more injuriouſly uſed, as to their legall Rights than the Biſhops, and Church-men. Theſe, as the fatteſt Deare, muſt be deſtroyed, the other Raſcal-herd of Schiſmes, Hereſies, &c being leane, may enjoy the benefit of a Toleration: Thus *Naboth's* Vineyard made him the onely Blaſphemer of his City, and fit to die. Still I ſee, while the breath of Religion fills the Sailes, Profit is the Compaſſe, by which Factious men ſteer their courſe in all ſeditious Commotions.

I thank God, as no man lay more open to the ſacrilegious temptation of uſurping the Churches Lands, and Revenues, (which iſſuing chiefly

from the Crowne, are held of it, and legally can revert onely to ỹ Crowne with My Consent) so I have alwaies had such a perfect abhorrence of it in my Soule, that I never found the least inclination to such sacrilegious Reformings: yet no man hath a greater desire to have Bishops and all Churchmen so reformed, that they may best deserve and use, not onely what the pious munificence of My Predecessours hath given to God and the Church, but all other additions of Christian bounty.

But no necessity shall ever, I hope, drive Me or Mine to invade or sell the Priests Lands, which both *Pharaoh's* divinity, and *Ioseph's* true piety abhorred to doe: So unjust I think it both in the eye of Reason and Religion, to deprive the most sacred employment of all due incouragements; and like that other hardhearted *Pharaoh*, to withdraw the Straw, and encrease the Taske, so pursuing the oppressed Church, as some have done, to the red sea of a Civill Warre, where nothing but a miracle can save either it, or Him, who esteems it His greatest Title to be called, and His chiefest glory to be *The Defender of the Church*

Church, both in its true Faith, and its just fruitions; equally abhorring, Sacriledge, and Apostacy.

I had rather live as my Predecessour *Henry* 3. sometime did, on the Churches Almes, then violenty to take the bread out of Bishops and Ministers mouths.

The next work will be *Jeroboam's* reformation, consecrating the meanest of the People to be Priests in *Israel*, to serve those Golden Calves who have enriched themselves with the Churches Patrimony & Dowry; which how it thrived both w̃ Prince, Priests, & People, is well enough known: And so it will be here, when from the tuition of Kings and Queens, which have beene nursing Fathers & Mothers of this Church, it shall be at their allowance, who have already discovered, what hard Fathers, and Stepmothers they will be.

If the poverty of *Scotland* might, yet the plenty of *England* cannot excuse the envy and rapine of the Churches Rights and Revenues.

I cannot so much as pray God to prevent those sad consequẽces, which will inevitably follow the parity and poverty of Ministers, both in Church and

and State; since I think it no lesse than a mocking and tempting of God, to desire him to hinder those mischiefs whose occasions and remedies are in our owne power; it being every mans sinne not to avoid the one, and not to use the other.

There are waies enough to repaire the breaches of the State without the ruines of the Church; as I would be a Restorer of the one, so I would not be an Oppressour of the other under the pretence of Publique Debts: the occasions contracting them were bad enough, but such a discharging of them would be much worse; I pray God neither I, nor Mine, may be accessary to either.

To thee, O Lord, doe I addresse My prayer, beseeching thee to pardon the rashnesse of My Subjects Swearings, and to quicken their sense and observation of those just, morall and indispensable bonds, which thy Word, and the Lawes of this Kingdome have laid upon their Consciences; From which no pretensions of Piety and Reformation are sufficient to absolve them, or to engage them to any contrary practises.

Make them at length seriously to consider,

ſider, that nothing violent and injurious can be religious.

Thou alloweſt no mans committing Sacrilcdge under the Zeale of abhorring Idols.

Suffer not ſacrilegious deſignes to have the countenance of religious tits.

Thou haſt taught us by the wiſeſt of Kings, that it is a ſnare to take things that are holy, & after Vowes to make enquiry.

Ever keep thy Servant from conſenting to perjurious and ſacrilegious rapines, that I may not have the brand and curſe to all poſterity of robbing Thee and thy Church, of what thy bounty hath given us, and thy clemency hath accepted from us, wherewith to encourage Learning and Religion.

Though My Treaſures are Exhauſted, My Revenues Diminiſhed, and My Debts Encreaſed, yet never ſuffer Me to be tempted to uſe ſuch profane Reparations; leſt a coal from thine Altar ſet ſuch a fire on My Throne and Conſcience as will be hardly quenched.

Let not the Debts and Engagements of the Publique, which ſome mens folly and prodigality hath contracted, be an occaſion to impoveriſh thy Church.

The State may ſome recover, by thy bleſſing of peace upon us; The Church is never

never likely, in times, where the Charity of most men is growne so cold, and their Religion so illiberall.

Continue to those that serve Thee and thy Church all those incouragements, which by the will of the pious Donours, and the justice of the Lawes are due unto them; and give them grace to deserve and use them aright to thy glory, and the relief of the poore; That thy Priests may be cloathed with righteousnesse, and the poore may be satisfied with bread.

Let not holy things be given to Swine; nor the Churches bread to Dogs; rather let them go about the City, grin like a Dog, and grudge that they are not satisfied.

Let those sacred morsels, which some men have already by violence devoured never digest with them, nor theirs; Let them be as Naboth's Vineyard to Ahab, gall in their mouths, rottennesse to their names, a moth to their Families, and a sting to their Consciences.

Break in sunder, O Lord, all violent and sacrilegious Confederations, to doe wickedly and injuriously.

Divide their hearts and tongues who have bandyed together against the Church and State, that the folly of such may be manifest to all men, and proceed no further.

But

But so favour My righteous dealing, O Lord; that in the mercies of thee, the most High, I may never miscarry.

15 *Vpon the many Iealousies raised, and Scandals cast upon the* KING, *to stirre up the People against Him.*

IF I had not My own Innocency, and Gods protection, it were hard for Me to stand out against those stratagems and conflicts, of malice, which by Falsities seek to oppresse the Truth; & by Iealousies to supply the defect of Reall causes, which might seem to justifie so unjust Engagements against Me.

And indeed, the worst effects of open Hostility come short of these Designes: For, I can more willingly loose My Crownes, than My Credit; nor are My Kingdoms so dear to Me, as My Reputation and Honour.

Those must have a period with my life; but these may survive to a glori-

ous

ous kind of Immortality, when I a
dead and gone : A good name bei
the embalming of Princes, & a swe
consecrating of them to an Eterni
of love & gratitude among Poster

Those foul & false aspersions we
secret Engines at first Employed
gainst My Peoples love of me : th
undermining their opinion and val
of Me, My Enemies, and theirs to
might at once blow up their affec
ons, and batter down their loyalt

Wherein yet, I thank God, the d
trinment of my Honour is not so affl
tive to Me , as the sin and danger
my Peoples soules, whose eyes on
blinded with such mists of suspicion
they are soon misled into the m
desperate precipices of actions: whe
in they do not only, not considerth
sin and danger, but glory in their z
lous adventures; while I am rendr
to them so fit to be destroyed , th
many are ambitious to merit ỹ na
of my Destroyers ; Imagining th
then fear God most, when they le
honour their King.

I thank God, I never found but m
pity was above my anger ; nor h
my passions ever so prevailed again
me, as to exclude my most compass
nate prayers

so

for them, whom devout errours more than their own malice have betrayed to a most religious Rebellion.

I had the Charity to interpret, that most part of my Subjects fought against my supposed Errours, not my Person; and intended to mend me, not to end me: And I hope that God pardoning their errours, hath so farre accepted and answered their good intentions, that as he hath yet preserved me, so he hath by these afflictions prepared me, both to doe him better service, and my people more good, than hitherto I have done.

I doe not more willingly forgive their seductions, which occasioned their loyall injuries, then I am ambitious by all Princely merits to redeem them from their unjust suspicions, and reward them for their good intentions.

I am too conscious to my own Affections toward the generality of my people, to suspect theirs to Me; nor shall the malice of my Enemies ever be able to deprive me of the comfort, which that confidence gives me; I shall never gratifie the pightfulnesse of a few with any sinister thoughts of all their Allegiance,

whom pious frauds have seduced.

The worst some mens ambition can do, shall never perswade me, to make so bad interpretations of most of My Subjects actions; who possibly may be erroneous, but not Heretical in point of Loyalty,

The sense of the Injuries done to My Subjects is as sharp, as those done to my self; our welfares being inseparable; in this only they suffer more then My self, that they are animated by some seducers to injure at once both themselves and Me.

For this is not enough to the malice of my Enemies, that I be afflicted; but it must be done by such instruments, that my afflictions grieve Me not more, then this doth, that I am afflicted by those, whose prosperity I earnestly desire, and whose seduction I heartily deplore.

If they had been my open and forraigne Enemies, I could have borne it; but they must be My own Subjects, who are next to my Children, dear to me, And for the restoring of whose tranquillity, I could willingly be the *Jonah*; If I did not evidently foresee, that by the divided Interests of their and Mine Enemies, as by con-

contrary winds the ſtorm of their miſeries would be rather encreaſed then allayed.

I had rather prevent My peoples ruine then Rule over them; nor am I ſo ambitious of that Dominion which is but my Right, as of their happineſſe; if it could expiate, or countervail ſuch a way of obtaining it, by the higheſt injuries of Subjects committed againſt their Soveraign.

Yet I had rather ſuffer all the miſeries of life, and die many deaths, then ſhamefully to deſert, or diſhonourably to betray My own juſt Rights and Soveraignty; thereby to gratifie the ambition, or juſtifie the malice of my Enemies; between whoſe malice, and other mens miſtakes, I put as great a difference, as between an ordinary Ague and the Plague; or the Itch of Novelty, and the Leproſie of Diſloyalty.

As Liars need have good memories, ſo Malicious perſons need good inventions; that their calumnies may fit every mans fancy; and what their reproaches want of truth, they may make up with number and ſhew.

My patience (I thank God) will better ſerve me to bear, and my cha-

rity to forgive, then my leisure to answer the many false Aspersions which some men have cast upon Me.

Did I not more consider My Subjects Satisfactions, then my own Vindication; I should never have given the malice of some men that pleasure, as to see me take notice of, or remember what they say, or object.

I would leave the Authors to be punished by their own evill manners, and seared Consciences, which will, I believe, in a shorter time then they be aware of, both confute and revenge all those black and false Scandalls, which they have cast on me; And make the world see, there is as little truth in them, as there was little worth in the broaching of them, or Civility, (I need not say Loyalty) in the not-suppressing of them; whose credit and reputation, even with the people, shall ere long be quite blasted by the breath of that same fornace of popular obloquy, and detraction, which they have studied to heat and inflame to the highest degree of infamy, and wherein they have sought to cast and consume my Name and Honour.

First, nothing gave me more cause to

to ſuſpect, and ſearch my own Innocency; then when I obſerved ſo many forward to engage againſt me, who had made great profeſſions of ſingular piety; For this gave to vulgar mindes ſo bad a reflect on upon me, and my Cauſe, as if it had been impoſſible to adhere to me, and not withal I part from God; to think or ſpeak well of Me, and not to Blaſpheme him; ſo many were perſwaded that theſe two were utterly inconſiſtent, to be at once Loyall to Me, and truly Religious toward God.

Not but that I had (I thank God) many with Me, which were both Learned and Religious, (much above that ordinary ſize, and that vulgar proportion, wherein ſome men glory ſo much) who were ſo well ſatisfied in the cauſe of my ſufferings, that they choſe rather to ſuffer with me, then forſake me.

Nor is it ſtrange that ſo religious Pretenſions as were uſed againſt Me, ſhould be to many well-minded men a great temptation to oppoſe Me; Eſpecially, being urged by ſuch popular Preachers, as think it no ſin to lie for God, & what they pleaſe to call Gods Cauſe, curſing all that will not curſe

with them; looking ſo much at, and crying up the goodneſſe of the end propounded, that they conſider not the lawfulneſſe of the means uſed, nor the depth of ȳ miſchief, cheifly plotted and intended.

The weaknes of theſe mens judgements muſt be made up by their clamours and activity.

It was a great part of ſome mens Religion to ſcandalize Me and Mine, they thought theirs could not be true, if they cried not down mine as falſe.

I thank God, I have had more triall of his grace, as to the conſtancy of my Religion in the Proteſtant profeſſion of the Church of *England*, both abroad, and at home, than ever they are like to have.

Nor do I know any exception, I am ſo liable to, in their opinion, as too great a fixedneſſe in that Religion, whoſe judicious & ſolid grounds, both from Scripture, and Antiquity, will not give my Conſcience leave to approve or conſent to thoſe many dangerous and divided Innovations, which the bold Ignorance of ſome men would needs obtrude upon Me, and My People.

Contrary to thoſe well tried foundations

dations both of Truth, and Order, which men of far greater Learning, & clearer Zeall, have ſetled in the Confeſſion and Conſtitution of this Church in *England*, which many former Parliaments in the moſt calm, & unpaſſionate times, have oft confirmed; In which I ſhall ever, by Gods help, perſevere, as beleeving it hath moſt of Primitive Truth and Order.

Nor did My uſing the aſſiſtance of ſome Papiſts, which were my Subjects, any way fight againſt my Religion, as ſome men would needs interpret it: eſpecially thoſe who leaſt of all men cared whom they imployed, or what they ſaid, and did, ſo they might prevaile.

'Tis ſtrange that ſo wiſe men, as they would be eſteemed, ſhould not conceive, that differences of perſwaſion in matters of Religion may eaſily fall out, where there is the ſameneſſe of duty, Allegiance, and Subjection The firſt they owe as men, & Chriſtians to God; the ſecond, they owe to me in Common, as their *King*; different profeſſions in point of Religion cannot (any more then in civill Trades) take away the community of relations either to Parents, or to Princes:

And where is there such an *Oglio* or medley of various Religions in the world again, as those men entertain in their service (who find most fault with me) without any scruple, as to the diversity of their Sects and Opinions?

It was, indeed, a foul and indelible shame, for such as would be counted Protestants, to enforce me, a declared Protestant, their Lord and King, to a necessary use of Papists, or any other, who did but their duty to help me to defend my self.

Nor did I more than is lawfull for any King, in such exigents to use the aid of any his Subjects.

I am sorry the Papists should have a greater sense of their Allegiance, than many Protestant Professours, who seem to have learned, and practise the worst Principles of the worst Papists.

Indeed, it had been a very impertinent and unseasonable scruple in Me, (and very pleasing no doubt to My Enemies) to have been then disputing the points of different beliefs in My Subjects when I was disputed with by Swords points: and when I needed the help of My Subjects as men, no lesse then their prayers as Christians.

The

The noiſe of My Evill Counſellours was an other uſefull device for thoſe, who were impatient any mens counſels but their owne, ſhould be followed in Church or State; who were ſo eager in giving Me better counſell that they would not give Me leave to take it with freedome, as a Man; or honour, as a King; making their counſels more like a drench that muſt be powred downe, than a draught which might be fairly and leiſurely dranke, if I liked it.

I will not juſtifie beyond humane errours and frailties My ſelfe, or My Counſellours: They might be ſubject to ſome miſcarriages, yet ſuch as were farre more reparable by ſecond and better thoughts, than thoſe enormious extravagancees', where with ſome men have now even wildred, and almoſt quite loſt both Church and State.

The event of things at laſt will make it evident to My Subjects, that had I followed the worſt Counſels, that My worſt Counſellours ever had the boldneſſe to offer to Me, or My ſelf any inclination to uſe; could not ſo ſoon have brought both Church & State in three flouriſhing Kingdomes,

to such a *Chaos* of confusions, and Hel of miseries, as some have done; out of which they cannot, or will not in the midst of their many great advantages, redeeme either Me, or My Subjects.

None ever were more willing to complain, than I was to redresse what I saw in Reason was either done or advised amisse; and this I though I had done, even beyond the expectation of moderate men: who were sorry to see Me prone even to injure My self, out of a Zeal to relieve My Subjects.

But other mens insatiable desire of revenge upon Me, My Court, and My Clergy; hath wholly beguiled both Church and State, of the benefit of all My, either Retractations, or Concessions; and withall, hath deprived all those (now so zealous Persecutors) both of the comfort and reward of their former pretended persecutions, wherein they so much gloried among the vulgar; and which, indeed, a truly humble Christian will so highly prize, as rather not be relieved, then be revenged, so as to be bereaved of that Crown of Christian Patience, which attends humble and injured sufferers. Another

Another artifice used to withdraw My peoples affections from Me, to their designes, was, The noise and ostentation of liberty, which men are not more prone to desire, then unapt to bear in the popular sense; which is to doe what every man liketh best.

If the Divinest liberty be to will what men should, and to do what they so will, according to Reason, Lawes, and Religion; I envie not My Subjects that liberty, which is all I desire to enjoy My self; So farre am I from the desire of oppressing theirs: Nor were those Lords and Gentlemen which assisted Me so prodigall of their liberties, as with their Lives and Fortunes to help on the enslaving of themselves and their posterities.

As to Civill Immunities, none but such as desire to drive on their Ambitious and Covetous designes over the ruines of Church and State, Prince, Peeres, and Peop'e, will ever desire greater Freedomes then the Lawes allow; whose bounds good men count their Ornament and Protection; others their Manacles and Oppression.

Nor is it just any man should expect the reward and benefit of the Law,

Law, who despiseth its rule and direction; losing justly his safety while he seekes an unreasonable liberty.

Time will best informe My Subjects, that those are the best preservers of their true liberties, who allow themselves the least licentiousnesse against, or beyond the Lawes.

They will feel it at last to their cost, that it is impossible those men should be really tender of their fellow-subjects liberties, who have the hardinesse to use their King with so severe restraints; against all Lawes, both Divine and Humane, under which, yet, I will rather perish, then complain to those, who want nothing to compleat their mirth, and triumph, but such musick.

In point of true conscientious tendernesse (attended with humility and meeknesse, not with proud and arrogant activity, which seekes to hatch every egge of different opinion to a Faction or Schisme) I have oft declared, how little I desire My Lawes and Scepter should intrench on Gods Soveraignty, which is the only King of mens Consciences; and yet he hath laid such restraints upon men, as commands them to be subject for Conscience

cience ſake, giving no men liberty to break the Law eſtabliſhed, further then with meekneſſe and patience, they are content to ſuffer the penalties annexed, rather then perturb the publick Peace.

The truth is, ſome mens thirſt after Novelties, others deſpair to relieve the neceſſities of their Fortunes, or ſatisfie their Ambition, in peaceable times, (diſtruiting Gods providence, as well as their own merits) were the ſecret (but principall) impulſives to theſe popular Commotions, by which Subjects have been perſwaded to expend much of thoſe plentifull Eſtates they got, and enjoyed under My Government, in peaceable times; which yet muſt now be blaſted with all the odious reproaches, which impotent malice can inveut; and My ſelf expoſed to all thoſe contempts, which may moſt diminiſh the Majeſty of a King, and encreaſe the ungratefull inſolencies of My People.

For Mine Honour, I am well aſſured, that as Mine Innocency is clear before God, in point of any calumnies they object: ſo My reputation ſhall like the Sun (after Owles and Bats have had their freedome in the night

night and darker times) rise and recover it self to such a degree of splendour, as those ferall birds shall be grieved to behold, and unable to bear. For never were any Princes more glorious, than those whom God hath suffer'd to be tried in the fornace of afflictions, by their injurious Subjects.

And who knows but the just and mercifull God will doe Me good, for some mens hard false, and evill speeches against Me; wherein they speak rather what they wish, than what they believe, or know.

Nor can I suffer so much in point of Honour, by those rude and scandalous Pamphlets (which like fire in great conflagrations, flie up and downe to set all places on like flames) than those men doe, who pretending to so much piety, are so forgetfull of their duty to God and Me: By no way ever vindicating the Majesty of their KING against any of those, who contrary to the precept of God, and precedent of Angels, *speake evil of dignities, and bring railing accusations against those*, who are honoured with the name of *Gods*.

But 'tis no wonder if men not fearing

ng, GOD, ſhould not Honour their KING.

They will eaſily contemne ſuch ſhadowes of God, who reverence not that Supreme, and adorable Majeſty, in compariſon of whom al the glory of Men and Angels is but obſcurity; yet hath he graven ſuch Characters of divine Authority, and Sacred power upon Kings, as none may without ſinne ſeek to blot them out.

Nor ſhall their black veiles be able to hide the ſhining of My face, while God gives Me a heart frequently and humbly to converſe with him, from whom alone are al the *Eradiations* of true glory aud Majeſty.

Thou, O Lord, knoweſt My reproach, and My diſhonour, My Adverſaries are all before thee.

My Soule is among Lyons, among them that are ſet on fire, even the Sons of Men; whoſe teeth are ſpears and arrows; their tongue a ſharp ſword.

Mine enemies reproach Me all the day long, and thoſe that are mad againſt me are ſworne together.

O My God, how long ſhall the ſcornes of men turne My glory into ſhame? how long

long shall they love vanity, and seek after lies?

Thou hast heard the reproaches of wicked men on every side. Hold not thy peace, lest My Enemies prevaile against me, and lay mine Honour in the dust.

Thou, O Lord, shalt destroy them that speak lies; the Lord will abhorre both the blood-thirsty, and deceitfull men.

Make my righteousnesse to appeare as the light, and mine innocency to shine forth as the Sun at noone day.

Suffer not my silence to betray mine innocence, nor my displeasure, my patience; That after my Saviours example, being reviled, I may not revile againe; and being cursed by them, I may blesse them.

Thou that wouldst not suffer Shimei's tongue to go unpunished; when by thy judgements on David he might seem to justifie his disdainfull reproaches, give me grace to intercede with thy mercy for these my enemies, that the reward of false and lying tongues, even hot burning coals of eternall fire, may not be brought upon them.

Let my prayers, and patience, be as water to coole and quench their tongues who are already set on fire with the fire of

of Hell, and tormented with those malicious flames.

Let me be happy to refute, and put to silence their evill speaking by well-doing; and let them enjoy not the fruit of their lips, but of my prayer for their repentance, and thy pardon.

Teach me Davids patience and Hezekiah's devotion, that I may look to thy mercy through mans malice, and see thy justice in their sin.

Let Sheba's seditions speeches, Rabshekah's railing, and Shimei's cursing, provoke, as my humble prayer to thee, so thy renewed blessing toward me.

Though they curse, doe thou blesse, and I shall be blessed; and made a blessing to my people.

That the stone, which some builders refuse, may become the head-stone of the corner.

Looke downe from heaven, and save me, from the reproach of them that would swallow me up.

Hide me in the secret of thy presence from the pride of man, and keep me from the strife of tongues.

16. *Vpon the Ordinance against the Common-Prayer-Booke.*

IT is no news to have all Innovations ushered in with the name of Reformations in Church and State, by those, who seeking to gaine reputation with the Vulgar for their extraordinary parts, and piety, must needs undoe whatever was formerly setled never so well and wisely.

So hardly can the pride of those that study Novelties, allow formerly times any share or degree of wisdom or godlinesse.

And becauſe matter of prayer and devotion to God juſtly beares a great part in Religion, (being of the Soules more immediate converſe with the divine Majeſty) nothing could be more plauſible to the People than to tell them, They ſerved God amiſs in that point.

Hence our publique Liturgy, the Formes of conſtant Prayers muſt be (not amended, in what upon free and publique advice might ſeem to ſober men inconvenient for matter

manner, to which I ſhould eaſily conſent, but) wholly caſhiered, and aboliſhed, and after many popular contempts offered to the Booke, and thoſe that uſed it according to their Conſciences, and the Lawes in force it muſt be crucified by an Ordinance, the better to pleaſe either thoſe men, who gloried in their extemporary veyne and fluency: or others, who conſcious to their owne formality in the uſe of it, thought they fully expiated their ſin of not uſing it aright, by laying all the blame upon it, and a totall rejection of it as a dead letter, thereby to excuſe the deadneſſe of their hearts.

As for the matter contained in the Book, ſober and learned men have ſufficiently vindicated it againſt the cavils and exceptions of thoſe, who thought it a part of piety to make what profane objections they could againſt it; eſpecially for Popery and Superſtition; whereas no doubt the Liturgy was exactly conformed to the doctrin of the Church of *England*; and this by all Reformed Churches is confeſſed to be moſt ſound and Orthodox.

For the manner of uſing Set and

prescribed Forms, there is no doubt but that wholsome words being known and fitted to mens understandings, are soonest received in to their hearts, and aptest to excite and carry along with them judicious and fervent affections.

Nor do I see any reason why Christians should be weary of a well-composed Liturgy (as I hold this to be) more than of all other things, wherein the Constancy abates nothing of the excellency and usefulnesse.

I could never see any Reason, why any Christian should abhorre, or be forbidden to use the same Forms of prayer, since he prayes to the same God, beleeves in the same Saviour, professeth the same Truths, reads the same Scriptures, hath the same duties upon him, and feels the same dayly wants for the most part, both inward and outward, which are common to the whole Church.

Sure we may as well before hand know what we pray, as to whom we pray; and in what words, as to what sense; when we desire the same things, what hinders we may not use the same words? our appetite and digestion too may be good when we use,

as

is we pray for, *our dayly bread*.

Some men, I hear, are so impatient not to use in all their devotions their own invention, and gifts, that they not only disuse (as too many) but wholly cast away and contemn the *Lords Prayer*; whose great guilt is, that it is the warrant and originall pattern of all set Liturgies, in the Christian Church.

I ever thought that the proud often tation of mens abilities for invention, & the vain affectations of variety for expresions, in Publique prayer, or any sacred administrations, merits a greater brand of sin, then that which they call Coldnesse and Barrennesse: Nor are men in those novelties lesse subject to formall and superficiall tempers (as to their hearts) than in the use of constant Forms, where not the words, but mens hearts are to blame.

I make no doubt but a man may be very formall in the most extemporary variety; and very fervently devout in the most wonted expressions: Nor is God more a God of variety, then of constancy: Nor are constant Forms of Prayers more likely to flat, and hinder the Spirit of Prayer, and devo-

tion, than un-premeditated and confused variety to distract, and lose it.

Though I am not against a grave, modest, discreet, and humble use of Ministers gifts, even in Publique, the better to fit, and excite their own, & the Peoples affections to the present occasions; yet I know no necessity why private & single abilities should quite justle out, and deprive the Church of the joynt abilities and concurrent gifts of many learned and godly men; such as the Composers of the Service-Book were; who may in all reason be thought to have more of gifts and graces enabling them to compose with Serious deliberation & concurrent advise, such Forms of prayers, as may best fit the Churches common wants, inform the Hearers understanding, and stirre up that fiduciary and fervent application of their spirits (wherein consists the very life and soul of prayer, and that so much pretended Spirit of prayer) than any private man by his solitary abilities can be presumed to have; which what they are many times (even there, where they make a great noise and shew) the affections, emptinesse, impertinency, rudenesse, confusion, fla-

flatneſſe, levity, obſcurity, vain and ridiculous repetitions, the ſenſleſſe, & oft-times blaſphemous expreſſions; all theſe burthened with a moſt tedious and intolerable length, do ſufficiently convince all men, but thoſe who glory in that Phariſaick way.

Wherein men muſt be ſtrangely impudent, & flatterers of themſelves, not to have an infinite ſhame of what they ſo do and ſay, in things of ſo ſacred a nature, before God and the Church, after ſo ridiculous, & indeed, profane a manner.

Nor can it be expected, but that in duties of frequent performance, as Sacramentall adminiſtrations, and the like, which are ſtill the ſame; Miniſters muſt either come to uſe their own Forms conſtantly, which are not like to be ſo ſound, or comprehenſive of the nature of the duty, as Forms of Publique compoſure; or elſe they muſt every time affect new expreſſions when the Subject is the ſame; which can hardly be preſumed in any mans greateſt ſufficiencies not to want (many times) much of that compleatneſſe, order, and gravity, becomming thoſe duties; which by this means are expoſed at every celebra-

tion to every Ministers private infirmities, dispositions, errours, disorders, and defects, both for judgement and expression.

A serious sense of which inconvenience in the Church unavoidably following every mans severall manner of officiating, no doubt, first occasioned the wisdom and piety of the Ancient Churches, to remedy those mischiefs, by the use of constant Liturgies of Publique composure.

The want of which I beleeve this Church will sufficiently feel, when the unhappy fruits of many mens ungoverned ignorance, and confident defects, shall be discovered in more errours, schismes, disorders, and uncharitable distractions in Religion, which are already but too many, the more is the pitty.

However, if violence must needs bring in, and abett those innovations, (that men may not seem to have nothing to do) which Law, Reason, and Religion forbids, at least to be so obtruded, as wholly to justle out the Publique Liturgie.

Yet nothing can excuse that most unjust and partiall severity of those men, who either lately had subscribed

to,

to, used and maintained the Service-book; or refusing to use it, cried out of the rigour of Lawes and Bishops, which suffered them not to use the liberty of their Consciences, in not using it.

That these men (I say) should so suddenly change the Lyturgie into a Directory, as if the Spirit needed help for invention, though not for expressions; or as if matter prescribed did not as much stint and obstruct the Spirit, as if it were cloathed in, and confined to, fit words: (So slight and easie is that Legerdemain which will serve to delude the vulgar.)

That further, they should use such severity as not to suffer without penalty, any to use the Common-prayer-Book publickly, although their Consciences bind them to it, as a duty of Piety to God, and Obedience to the Lawes.

Thus I see, no men are prone to be greater Tyrants, and more rigorous exacters upon others to conform to their illegall novelties, then such, whose pride was formerly least disposed to the obedience of lawfull Constitutions; and whose licentious humours most pretended Conscientious

liberties, which freedome, with much regret they now allow to Me, and My Chaplains, when they may have leave to serve Me, whose abilities, even in their extemporary way comes not short of the others, but their modesty and learning far exceeds the most of them.

But this matter is of so popular a nature, as some men knew it would not bear learned and sober debates, lest being convinced by the evidence of Reason, as well as Lawes, they should have beene driven either to sin more against their knowledge, by taking away the Liturgie; or to displease some faction of the people by continuing the use of it.

Though I beleeve they have offended more considerable men, not onely for their numbers and estates, but for their weighty and judicious piety, than those are, whose weaknesse or giddinesse they sought to gratifie by taking it away.

One of ỹ greatest faults some men found with the Common-Prayer-Book, I beleeve, was this, That it taught them to pray so oft for Me; to which Petitions they had not Loyalty enough to say *Amen*, nor yet Charity

Charity enough to forbeare Reproaches, and even Cursings of Me in their owne formes, instead of praying for Me.

I wish their Repentance may be their onely punishment; that seeing the mischiefs which the disuse of publique Liturgies hath already produced, they may restore that credit, use, and reverence to them, which by the ancient Churches were given to Set Formes of sound & wholsome words.

And thou, O Lord, which art the same God, blessed for ever: whose mercies are full of variety, and yet of constancy; Thou denicst us not a new and fresh sense of our old and daily wants; nor despisest renewed affections joyned to constant expressions.

Let us not want the benefit of thy Churches united and wel-advised Devotions

Let the matters of our prayers be agreeable to thy will, which is alwaies the same, and the fervency of our spirits to the motions of thy holy Spirit in us.

And then we doubt not, but thy spirituall perfections are such, as thou art neither to be pleased with affected Novelties for matter or manner, nor offended with the

the pious constancy of our petitions in them both.

Whose variety or constancy thou hast no where either forbidden or commanded, but left them to the piety and prudence of thy Church, that both may be used, neither despised.

Keep men in that pious moderation of their judgments in matters of Religion; that their ignorance may not offend others, nor their opinion of their owne abilities tempt them to deprive others of what they may lawfully and devoutly use, to help their infirmities.

And since the advantage of Error consists in novelty and variety, as Truths in unity and constancy: Suffer not thy Church to be pestered with errours, and deformed with undecencies in thy service, under the pretence of variety and novelty. Nor to be deprived of truth, unity, and order, under this fallacy, That constancy is the cause of formality.

Lord keep us from formall Hypocrisy in our owne hearts, and then we know that prayiug to thee, or praising of thee (with David, *and other holy men) in the same formes cannot hurt us.*

Give us wisdome to amend what is amisse with in us: and there will be lesse to mend without us.

Ever-

Evermore defend and deliver thy Church from the effects of blind zeale, and over-bold devotion.

17. *Of the differences between the* KING *and the two Houſes, in point of Church-Government.*

TOuching the GOVERNMENT of the Church by Biſhops, the common Jealouſie hath been, that I am earneſt and reſolute to maintaine it, not ſo much out of piety, as policy, and reaſon of State.

Wherein ſo far indeed reaſon of State doth induce Me to approve that Government above any other, as I find it impoſſible for a Prince to preſerve the State in quiet, unleſſe he hath ſuch an influence upon Churchmen; and they ſuch a dependance on

on Him, as may best restrain the seditious exorbitancies of Ministers tongues; who with the keyes of Heaven have so farre the keyes of the Peoples hearts, as they prevaile much by their Oratory to let in, or shut out, both Peace and Loyalty.

So that I being (as KING) intrusted by God, and the Lawes, with the good both of Church and State; I see no Reason I should give up, or weaken by any change, that power and influence which in right and reason I ought to have over both.

The moving Bishops out of the House of Peers (of which I have elsewhere given an account) was sufficient to take off any suspicion, that I encline to the for any use to be made of their Votes in State affaires: though indeed I never thought any Bishop worthy to sit in that House, who would not Vote according to his conscience.

I must now in charity be thought desirous to preserve that Government in its right constitution, as a matter of Religion; wherein both My judgement is fully satisfied, that it hath of all other the fullest Scripture grounds, and

also

also the constant practise of all Christian Churches: till of late years, the tumultuarinesse of People, or the factiousnesse and pride of Presbyters, or the covetousnesse of some mens wits to invent new models, and propose them under specious titles of *Christs Government*, *Scepter*, *and Kingdom*; the better to serve their turns, to whom the change was beneficiall,

They must give Me leave, having none of their temptations to invite me, to alter the Government of Bishops, (that I may have a title to their Estates) not to beleeve their pretended grounds to any new wayes: contrary to the full, and constant testimony of all Histories, sufficiently convincing unbiassed men; that as the Primitive Churches were undoubtedly governed by the Apostles and their immediate Successours the first and best Bishops; so it cannot in reason or charity be supposed, that all Churches in the world should either be ignorant of the rule by them prescribed, or so soon deviate from their divine and holy patern; That since the first Age,

Age, for 1500 years not one Example can be produced of any setled Church, wherein were many Ministers and Congregations, which had not some Bishop above them, under whose jurisdiction and government they were.

Whose constant and universall practise agreeing with so large, and evident Scripture directions and examples, as are set down in the Epistles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, for the setling of that Government, not in the persons onely of *Timothy* and *Titus*, but in the succession; (the want of Government being that, which the Church can no more dispense with, in point of wel being, than the want of the word and Sacraments, in point of being.)

I wonder how men came to looke with so envious an eye upon Bishops power and authority, as to oversee both the Ecclesiasticall use of them, and Apostolicall constitution: which to Me seems no lesse evidently set forth as to the maine scope and designe of those Epistles, for the setling of a peculiar Office, Power, and Authority in them as President Bishops above others, in point of Ordination, Censures, and other acts

acts of Ecclesiasticall discipline; then those shorter characters of the qualities and duties of Presbyter-Bishops, and Deacons, are described in some parts of the same Epistles; who in the latitude and community of the name were then, and may now not improperly be called *Bishops*; as to the oversight and care of single Congregations, committed to them by the Apostles, or those Apostolicall Bishops, who (as *Timothy* and *Titus*) succeeded them in that ordinary power, there assigned over larger divisions, in which were many Presbyters.

The humility of those first Bishops avoiding the eminent title of Apostles, as a name in the Churches stile appropriated from its common notion (*of a Messenger, or one Sent*) to that speciall dignity which had extraordinary call, mission, gifts, and power immediately from Christ: they contented themselves with the ordinary titles of Bishops and Presbyters, untill use, (the great arbitrator of words, and master of language) finding reason to distinguish by a peculiar name those persons, whose power and office were indeed

distinct from, and above all other in the Church, as succeeding the Apostles in the ordinary and constant power of governing the Churches, (the honour of whose name they modestly, yet commendably declined) all Christian Churches (submitting to that speciall authority) appropriated also the name of *Bishop*, without any suspicion or reproach of arrogancy, to those, who were by Apostolicall propagation rightly descended & invested into that highest and largest power of governing even the most pure and Primitive Churches: which, without all doubt had many such holy Bishops, after the pattern of *Timothy* and *Titus*; whose speciall power is not more clearly set down in those Epistles (the chief grounds and limits of all Episcopall claime, as from divine right) then are the characters of these perilous times, and those men that make them such; who not enduring sound doctrine, and cleare testimonies of all Churches practise, are most perverse Disputers, and proud Vsurpers, against the true Episcopacy: who, if they be not Traytours and Boasters,

sters, yet they seem to be very covetous, heady, high-minded; inordinate and fierce, lovers of themseles, having much of the forme, little of then ower of godlineſſe.

Who, by popular heaps of weak, light, and unlearned Teachers, seek to over-lay and smother the pregnancy & authority of that power of Episcopall Government, which, beyond all equivocation and vulgar fallacy of names, is most convincingly set forth, both by Scripture, and all after Histories of the Church.

This I write rather like a Divine, than a Prince, that Posterity may see (if ever these Papers be publique) that I had faire grounds both from Scripture-Canons, & Eccleſiastical examples, whereon My judgement was stated for Episcopall Government.

Nor was it any policy of State, or obstinacy of will, or partiality of affection, either to the men, or their Function which fixed Me: who cannot in point of worldly respects be so considerable to Me as to recompence the injuries and losses I, and

My deareſt relations with My Kingdomes have ſuſtained, and hazarded, chiefly at firſt upon this quarrell.

And not onely in Religion, of which, Scripture is the beſt rule, and ỹ Churches Vniverſall practiſe ỹ beſt commentary, but alſo in right reaſon, and the true nature of Government it cannot be thought that an orderly Subordination among Presbyters, or Miniſters, ſhould be any more againſt Chriſtianity, then it is in all ſecular and civill Governments, where parity breeds Confuſion and Faction.

I can no more beleeve, that ſuch order is inconſiſtent with true Religion, then good features are with beauty, or numbers with harmony.

Nor is it likely that God, who appointed ſeverall orders, and a Prelacy, in the Government of his Church, among the Jewiſh Prieſts, ſhould abhorre or forbid them among Chriſtian Miniſters; who have as much of the principles of ſchiſme and diviſion as other men; for preventing and ſuppreſſing of which, the Apoſtolicall wiſdom (which was divine) after that Chriſtians were multiplyed to many

many Congregations, and Presbyters with them, appointed this way of Government, which might best preserve order & union with Authority.

So that I conceive it was not the favour of Princes, or ambition of Presbyters, but the wisdom and piety of the Apostles, that first setled Bishops in the Church; which Authority they constantly used, and injoyed in those times, which were purest for Religion, though sharpest for Persecution.

Not that I am against the managing of this Presidency and Authority in one man, by the joynt counsell & consent of many Presbyters: I have offered to restore that, as a fit means to avoid those Errours, Corruptions, and Partialities which are incident to any one man; Also to avoid Tyranny, which becomes no Christians, least of all Church-men; besides, it will be a means to take away that burden, and *odium* of affaires, which may lie too heavy on one mans shoulders, as indeed, I think it formerly did on the Bishops here.

Nor can I see what can bee more agreeable both to Reason and Religion, then such a

frame of Government which is Paternall, not Magisteriall; and wherein necessity of avoiding Faction and Confusion, Emulations & Contempts which are prone to arise among equals in power and function; but also the differences of some ministers gifts, and aptitudes for Government above others, doth invite to imploy them, in reference to those Abilities, wherein they are Eminent.

Nor is this judgement of Mine touching Episcopacy, any pre-occupation of opinion, which wil not admit any oppositions against it: It is well known I have endeavoured to satisfie My self in what the chief Patrons for other wayes can say against this, or for theirs: And I find they have, as farre lesse of Scripture grounds, and of Reason; so for examples, and Practice of the Church, or testimonies of Histories, they are wholly destitute, wherin the whole stream runs so for Episcopacy, there is not the least rivulet for any others.

As for those obtruded examples of some late reformed Churches, (for many retain Bishops still) whom necessity of times and affaires rather

rather excuſeth, then commendeth for their inconfirmity to all Antiquity; I could never ſee any reaſon why Churches orderly reformed and governed by Biſhops, ſhould be forced to conform to thoſe few, rather then to the Catholick example of all Ancient Churches, which needed no Reformation: And to thoſe Churches at this day, who Governed by Biſhops in all the Chriſtian world, are many more then Presbyterians or Independents can pretend to be; All whom the Churches in My three Kingdomes lately Governed by Biſhops, would equalize (I think) if not exceed.

Nor is it any point of wiſdom or charity, where Chriſtians differ, (as many do in ſome points) there to widen the differences, and at once to give all the Chriſtian world (except a handfull of ſome Proteſtants) ſo great a ſcandall in point of Church-government; whom, though you may convince of their Errours in ſome points of Doctrine, yet you ſhall never perſwade them, that to compleat their Reformation, they muſt neceſſarily deſert, and wholly caſt

off that Government, which they, and all before them have ever owned as Catholick, Primitive, and Apostolicall: So far, that never Schismaticks, nor Hereticks (except those *Arians*) have strayed from the Vnity, and Conformity of ỹ Church in that point; ever having Bishops above Presbyters.

Besides, the late generall approbation and submission to this Government of Bishops, by the Clergy, as wel as the Laity of these Kingdomes, is a great confirmation of My Judgment; and their inconstancy is a great prejudice against their novelty; I cannot in charity so far doubt of their learning or integrity, as if they understood not what heretofore they did; or that they did conform contrary to their Consciences; So that their facility and levity is never to be excused, who, before ever the point of Church-government had any free and impartial debate, contrary to their former Oathes and practice, against their obedience to the Lawes in force, and against My consent, have not only quite cryed down the Government by Bishops; but have approved and incouraged the violent and most illegal stripping all the Bishops, and many other

other Church-men, of all their due Authority and Revenues, even to the selling away, and utter alienation of those Church-lands from any Ecclesiasticall uses: So great a power hath the stream of times, and the prevalency of parties over some mens judgements; of whose so sudden and so totall change, little reason can be given, besides the *Scots* Army comming into *England*.

But the folly of these men will at last punish it self, and the Desertors of Episcopacy will appear the greatest Enemies to, and Betrayers of their owne interest; for Presbytery is never so considerable or effectuall, as when it is joyned to, and crowned with Episcopacy. All Ministers will find as great a difference in point of thriving, between the favour of the People, and of Princes, as plants doe between being watered by hand, or by the sweet and liberall dews of heaven.

The tenuity and contempt of Clergy-men will soone let them see, what a poore car Kasse they are, when parted from the influence of that Head, to whose Supremacy they have been sworne.

A little moderation might have

prevented great mischiefs; I am firme to Primitive Episcopacy, not to have it extirpated, (if I can hinder it.) Discretion without passion might easily reforme, whatever the rust of times, or indulgence of Laws, or corruption of manners have brought upon it. It being a grosse vulgar errour to impute to, or revenge upon ŷ Function, ŷ faults of times, or persons; which seditious and popular principle, and practise, all wise men abhorre.

For those secular additaments and ornaments of Authority, Civill Honour and Estate, which my Predecessours, and Christian Princes in all Countries have annexed to Bishops and Church-men; I look upon them, but as just rewards of their learning, and piety, who are fit to be in any degree of Church-Government; also enablements to works of Charity, and Hospitality, meet strengthenings of their Authority in point of respect, and observance; which in peaceful times is hardly payed to any Governours by the measure of their vertues, so much, as by that of their Estates; Poverty and meanesse exposing them and their Authority to the contempt of licentious minds, and manners,

ners, which perſecuting Times much reſtrained.

I would have ſuch men Biſhops, as are moſt worthy of thoſe incouragements, and beſt able to uſe them: if at any time my judgment of men failed my good intention made my errour veniall: And ſome Biſhops, I am ſure, I had whoſe learning, gravity, and piety, no men of any worth or forehead can deny: But, of all men, I would have Church-men, eſpecially the Governours to be redeemed from that vulgar neglect; which (beſides an innate principle of vitious oppoſition, which is in all men againſt thoſe that ſeem to reprove, or reſtraine them) will neceſſarily follow both the Presbyterian parity, which makes all Miniſters equall; and the Independent inferiority, which ſets their Paſtors below the People.

This for my judgment touching Epiſcopacy, wherein (God knows) I doe not gratifie any deſigne or paſſion with the leaſt perverting of Truth.

And now I appeale to God above, and al the Chriſtian world, whether it be juſt for Subjects, or pious for Chriſtians,

lians, by violence, and infinite indignities, with servile restraints to seek to force Me their KING and Soveraigne, as some men have endeavoured to doe, against all these grounds of my judgement, to consent to their weak and divided novelties.

The greatest Pretender of them desires not more than I doe, That the Church should be governed, as Christ hath appointed, in true Reason and in Scripture; of which, I could never see any probable shew for any other wayes: who either content themselves with the examples of some Churches in their infancy & solitude; when one Presbyter might serve one Congregation, in a City or Countrey; or else they deny these most evident Truths, That the Apostles were Bishops over those Presbyters they ordained, as well as over the Churches they planted, and that, Government being necessary for the Churches wel-being, when multiplied and sociated, must also necessarily descend from the Apostles to others, after the example of that power & superiority, they had above others; which could not end with their persons; since the use & end of such Government still continue.

It

It is most sure, that the purest Primitive and best Churches flourished under Episcopacy ; and may so still, if ignorance, superstition, avarice, revenge, and other disorderly and disloyall passions had not so blowne up some mens minds against it, that what they want of Reasous or Primitive Patterns, they supply with violence and oppression ; wherein some mens zeale for Bishops Lands, Houses, and Revenues hath set them on worke to eate up Episcopacy: which (however other men esteem) to me is no lesse sin than Sacriledge; or a robbery of God (the giver of all we have) of that portion which devout mindes have thankfully given againe to him, in giving it to his Church and Prophets; through whose hands he graciously accepts even a cup of cold water, as a libation offered to himselfe.

Furthermore, as to my paticular engagement above other men, by an Oath agreeable to my judgement, I am solemnly obliged to preserve that Government, and the Rights of the Church.

Were I convinced of the unlawfulnesse of the Function, as Antichristian which some men boldly, but weakly calum-

calumniate) I could soon, with judgement, break that Oath, which erroneously was taken by me.

But being dayly by the best disquisition of truth, more confirmed in the Reason and Religion of that, to which I am sworn; How can any man that wisheth not my damnation, perswade me at once to so notorious and combined sins, of Sacriledge and Perjury? besides the many personall Injustices I must do to many worthy men, who are as legally invested in their Estates, as any, who seek to deprive them; & they have by no Law, been convicted of those crimes, which might forfeit their Estates and Lively-hoods.

I have oft wondred how men pretending to tenderness of Conscience, and Reformation, can at once tell me, that my Coronation Oath binds me to consent to whatsoever they shall propound to Me, (which they urge with such violence) though contrary to all that Rationall and Religious freedom which every man ought to preserve; and of which they seem so tender in their own Votes, yet at the same time these men will needs perswade me, That I must, and ought to

to dispence with, and roundly break that part of my Oath, which binds me (agreeable to the best light of reason and Religion I have) to maintain the Government, and legall Rights of the Church, 'Tis strange my Oath should be valid in that part, which both my self, and all men in their own case, esteem injurious and unreasonable, as being against the very naturall & essentiall liberty of our soules; yet it should be invalid, and to be broken in another clause, wherein I think my self justly obliged, both to God and Man.

Yet upon this Rock chiefly have I been held so long, by some mens ambitious Covetousnesse, and Sacrilegious Cruelty; torturing (with me) both Church and State, in Civill dissentions, till I shall be forced to consent, & declare that I do approve, what (God knowes) I utterly dislike, and in my Soul abhorre; as many wayes highly against Reason, Justice, & Religion: & whereto, if I should shamefully, and dishonourably give my consent; yet would I not by so doing, satisfie divid-interests & opinions of those Parties which contend with each other, as well as both against me and Episcopacy.

Nor

Nor can My late condescending to the *Scott* in point of Church-govern ment, be rightly objected against me as an inducement for me, to consen to the like in my other Kingdomes. For it should be considered that Epi copacy was not so rooted and setled there, as 'tis here; nor I (in that re spect) so strictly bound to continue i in that Kingdom as in this; for what I think in my judgement best, I may not think so absolutely necessary for all places, and at all times.

If any shall impute my yeelding t them, as my failing and sin, I can eas ly acknowledge it; but that is no ar gument to do so again, or muc worse; I being now more convince in that point: nor indeed hath m yeelding to them been happy o successefull as to incourage me t grant the like to others.

Did I see any thing more of Chri as to Meekneſſe, Justice, Order, Ch rity, and Loyalty in those that pr tend to other modes of Governmen I might suspect my judgement to b by assed, or fore-stalled w some pr judice and wontedneſſe of opinio but I have hitherto so much cause suspect the contrary in the manne

of many of those men, that I cannot from them gain the least reputation for their new wayes of Government.

Nor can I find that in any Reformed Churches (whose paternes are so cryed up, and obtruded upon the Churches under my Dominion) that either Learning, or Religion, workes of Piety or Charity, have so flourished beyond what they have done in My Kingdomes (by Gods blessing) which might make Me believe either presbytery or Independency have a more benigne influence upon the Church and mens hearts and lives, than Episcopacy in its right constitution.

The abuset of which, deserve to be extirpated, as much as the use retained; for I think it farre better to hold to primitive and uniforme Antiquity, than to comply with divided Novelty.

A right Episcopacy would at once satisfie all just desires and interests of good Bishops, humble Presbyters, and sober People; so as Church affaires should be managed neither with tyrannie, parity, nor popularity; neither Bishops ejected, nor Presbyters despised, nor People oppressed

And in this integrity both of My Judgment and Conscience, I hope God will preserve Me.

For Thou, O Lord, knowest my uprightnesse, and tenderncse, as thou hast set me to be a Defender of the Faith, and a Protectour of thy Church, so suffer me not by any violence, to be overborne against my Conscience.

Arise O Lord, maintaine thine owne Cause, let not thy Church be deformed, as to that Government, which derived from thy Apostles, hath been retained in purest and primitive times, till the Revenues of the Church became the object of secular envy; which seeks to rob it of all the incouragements of Learning and Religion.

Make me, as the good Samaritan, compassionate, and helpfull to the afflicted Church; which some men have wounded and robbed; others passe by without regard, either to pitty, or reliefe,

As my power is from thee, so give me grace to use it for thee.

And though I am not suffered to be Master of my other Rights as a KING, yet preserve me in that liberty of Reason, love of Religion, and thy Churches welfare, which are fixed in my Conscience as a Christian.

Pre-

Preſerve, from Sacrilegious invaſions, thoſe temporall bleſſings, which thy providence hath beſtowed on thy Church for thy glory.

Forgive their ſinnes and errours, who have deſerved thy juſt permiſſion, thus to let in the wild Boare, and ſubtill Foxes, to waſt and deform thy Vineyard, which thy right hand hath planted, and the dew of Heaven ſo long watered to a happy and flouriſhing eſtate.

O let me not beare the infamous brand to all Poſterity of being the firſt Chriſtian KING in this Kingdome, who ſhould conſent to the oppreſion of thy Church, and the Fathers of it; whoſe errours I would rather, with Conſtantine, *cover with ſilence, and reforme with meeknesſe, than expoſe their perſons, and ſacred Functions, to vulgar contempt.*

Thou, O Lord, ſeeſt how much I have ſuffered with, & for thy Church, make no long tarrying O my God, to deliver both me, and it; from unreaſonable men; whoſe counſels have brought forth, and continue ſuch violent confuſions, by a precipitant deſtroying the ancient boundaries of thy Churches peace; thereby letting in all manner of errours, ſchiſmes, and diſorders.

O thou God, of order, and of truth, in

thy good time, abate the malice, aſwage the rage, and confound all the miſchevous devices of thine, mine, and thy Churches enemies

That I, and all that love thy Church, may ſing praiſes to thee, and our magnifie thy ſalvation, even before the ſons of men

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18. *Upon*

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18. *Upon* Vxbridge-*Treaty and others Offers made by the* KING

I Look upon the way of Treaties, as a retiring from fighting like Beasts, to arguing like Men; whose strength should be more in their understandings, than in their limbs.

And though I could seldome get opportunities to Treat, yet I never wanted either desire or disposition to it; having greater confidence of My Reason, than My Sword: I was so wholly resolved to yeild to the first that I thought neither my selfe, nor others, should need to use the second, if once we rightly understood each other.

Nor did I ever think it a diminution of me, to prevent them with expresses of my desires, and even importunities to Treat: It being an office, not onely of humanity, rather to use Reason, than Force; but also of Christianity to *seek peace and ensue it.*

As I *was* very unwillingly compelled to defend my self with Armes, so I very willingly embraced any thing tending to Peace, O 3 The

The events of all Warre by the Sword being very dubious, and of a Civill Warre uncomfortable; the end hardly recompencing, and late repairing the mischief of the means.

Nor did any successe I had ever enhaunce with me the price of Peace as earnestly desired by me as any man; though *I* was like to pay dearer for it then any man: All that I sought to reserve was, mine Honour, and my Conscience; the one I could not part with as a KING, the other as a Christian.

The Treaty at *Uxbridge* gave the fairest hopes of an happy composure; had others applied themselves to it with the same moderation, as I did, I am confident the Warre had then ended.

I was willing to condescend, as far as Reason, Honour, and Conscience, would give me leave; nor were the remaining differences so essentiall to My Peoples happinesse; or of such consequence; as in the least kind to have hindred My Subjects either security, or prosperity; for they better enjoyed both, many years, before ever those demands were made, some of which, to deny, I think the greatest

Justice

Justice to my self, and favour to My Subjects.

I see, Jealousies are not so easily allayed, as they are raised; Some men are more afraid to retreat from violent Engagements, then to Engage: what is wanting in equity, must be made up in pertinacy. Such as had little to enjoy in peace, or to lose in warre, studied to render the very name of *Peace* odious and suspected.

In Church affaires, where I had least liberty of prudence, having so many strict ties of Conscience upon me; yet I was willing to condescend so farre to the setling of them, as might have given fair satisfaction to all men, whom faction, covetousnesse, or superstition had not engaged more, than any true zeale, charity, or love of Reformation.

I was content to yeeld to all that might seem to advance true piety; I only sought to continue what was necessary in point of Order, Maintenance, & Authority to the Churches Government; and what *I* am perswaded (as I have elsewhere set down My thoughts more fully) is most agreeable to the true Principles of all Government, raised to its full stature and per-

fection, as also to the primitive Apostolicall patern, and the practise of the Universall Church conform thereto.

From which wholly to receed, without any probable reason urged or answered, onely to satisfie some mens wills and fantasies (which yet agree not among themselves in any point, but that of extirpating Episcopacy, and fighting against me) must needs argue such a softnesse, and infirmity of mind in me, as will rather part with Gods Truth, then mans Peace, and rather lose the Churches honour, then crosse some mens Factious humours.

God knows, and time will discover, who were most to blame for the unsuccesfulnesse of that Treaty, and who must bear the guilt of after-calamities. *I* beleeve, I am very excusable both before *God*, and all unpassionate men, who have seriously weighed those transactions, wherein I endeavoured no lesse the restauration of Peace to my People, then the preservation of my own Crowns to my Posterity.

Some men have that height, as to interpret all fair condescendings, as Arguments of feebleness, and glory most

most in an unflexible stifnesse, when they see others most supple and inclinable to them.

A grand Maxime with them was alwayes to ask something, which in reason and honour must be denied, that they might have some colour to refuse all that was in other things granted; setting Peace at as high a rate, as the worst effects of Warre; endeavouring first to make Me destroy My Self by dishonourable Concessions, that so they might have the lesse to do.

This was all which that Treaty, or any other produced, to let the world see, how little I would deny, or they grant, in order to the Publique peace.

That it gave occasion to some mens further restiveneſſe, is imputable to their own depraved tempers, not to any Concessions or Negations of Mine: I have alwayes the content of what I offered, and they the regret, and blame, for what they refused.

The highest tide of successe set me not above a Treaty, nor the lowest ebbe below a Fight: Though I never thought it any sign of true valour, to

be prodigall of mens lives, rather then to be drawn to produce our own reasons, or subscribe to other mens.

That which made me for the most part presage the un-successfulnesse of any Treaty, was, some mens unwillingnesse to Treat: which implyed some things were to be gained by the Sword, whose unreasonableneſſe they were loath to have fairly scanned, being more proper to be acted by Souldiers, then by Counsellours.

I pray God forgive them that were guilty of that Treaties breaking; and give them grace to make their advantages gotten by the Sword a better opportunity to use such moderation, as was then wanting; that so though Peace were for our sinnes justly deferred, yet at last it may be happily obtain'd; what we could not get by our Treaties, we may gain by our prayers

O Thou that art the God of Reason, & of Peace, who disdainest not to Treat with Sinners, preventing them with offers of attonement, and beseeching them to be reconciled with thy self: who wantest not power, or justice, to destroy them; yet aboundest in mercy to save.

soften

soften our hearts by the blood of our Redeemer, and perswade us to accept of Peace with thy self, and both to procure and preserve peace among our selves, as Men and Christians, How oft have I intreated for Peace, but when I speak thereof, they make them ready to Warre.

Condemne us not to our passions, which are destructive, both of our selves, and of others.

Clear up our understandings, to see thy Truth, both in Reason, as Men; & in Religion, as Christians: & encline all our hearts to hold the unity of the Spirit, in the bond of Peace.

Take from us that enmity which is now in our hearts against thee: and give us that charity which should be among our selves.

Remove the evils of Warre we have deserved, and bestow upon us that Peace, which only Christ our great Peace-maker can merit.

19. *Vpon*

19. *Vpon the various events of the Warre, Victories, and Defeats.*

THe various Successes of this unhappy Warre, have at least, afforded Me variety of good Meditations sometimes God was pleased to try me with Victory, by worsting My Enemies, that I might know how with moderation and thanks to own, and use his power, who is only the true *Lord of Hosts*; able when he pleases to represse the confidence of those, that fought against Me, with so great advantages for Power and Number.

From small beginnings on My part he let Me see, that I was not wholly forsaken by My Peoples love, or his protection.

Other times God was pleased to exercise My patience, and teach Me not to trust in the arm of Flesh, but in the living God.

My sins somtimes prevailed against the justice of my cause: and those that were

were with me wanted not matter & occasion for his just chastisment both of them, and Me: Nor were My enemies lesse punished by that prosperity, which hardened them to continue that injustice by open hostility, which was begun by most riotous and unparliamentary Tumults.

There is no doubt but personall and private sinnes may oft-times over-ballance the justice of Publique engagements; nor doth God account every gallant man (in the worlds esteem) a fit instrument to assert in the way of Warre a righteous Cause; The more men are prone to arrogate to their own skill, valour and strength, the lesse doth God ordinarily work by them, for his own glory.

I am sure the event or successe can never state the justice of any cause, nor the peace of mens Consciences, nor the eternall fate of their Soules.

Those with me had (I think) clearly & undoubtedly, for their justification the word of God, & ye Laws of ye Land, together with their own Oathes; all requiring obedience to my just Commands;

mands: but to none other under Heaven without me, or against me, in the point of raising Armes.

Those on the other side are forced to flee to the shifts of some pretended Fears, and wild fundamentals of State (as they call them) which actually overthrow the present fabrick, both of Church & State, being such imaginary Reasons for self defence as are most impertinēt for those men to alledge, who being my Subjects, were manifestly ỹ first assaulters of me and the Lawes: first by unsuppressed Tumults, after, by listed Forces: The same Allegations they use, will fit any Faction that hath but power and confidence enough to second with the Sword, all their demands against the present Lawes and Governours; which can never be such as some side or other will not find fault with, so as to urge what they call a Reformation of them to a Rebellion against them: some parasitick Preachers have dared to call those Martyrs, who died fighting against me, the Lawes, their Oathes, and the Religion Established.

But sober Christians know, That

That glorious Title, can with truth be applied only to those, who sincerely preferred Gods Truth, and their duty in all these particulars before their lives, and all that was dear to them in this world; who having no advantageous designes by any Innovation, were religiously sensible of those ties to God, the Church, and my self, which lay upon their Souls, both for obedience and just assistance.

God could, and I doubt not but he did through his mercy, crown many of them with eternall life, whose lives were lost in so just a Cause; The destruction of their bodies being sanctified, as a means to save their Soules.

Their wounds, and temporall ruine serving as a gracious opportunity for eternall health and happinesse; while the evident approach of death did, through Gods grace, effectually dispose their hearts to such Humility, Faith, & repentance, which together with the Rectitude of their present engagement, would fully prepare them for a better life than that, which their enemies brutish and disloyall fiercenesse could deprive

deprive them of; or without Repentance hope to enjoy.

They have often indeed, had the better againſt My ſide in the field, but never, I beleeve, at the barre of Gods Tribunall, or their own Conſciences; where they are more afraid to encounter thoſe many pregnant Reaſons, both from Law, Allegiance, and all true Chriſtian grounds, which conflict *with*, and accuſe them *in their own* thoughts, then they oft were in a deſperate bravery to fight againſt thoſe Forces, which ſometimes God gave Me.

Whoſe condition conquered, and dying, I make no queſtion, but is infinitely more to be choſen by a ſober man, (that duely values his duty, his ſoul, and eternity, beyond the enjoyments of this preſent life) then the moſt triumphant glory, wherein their & mine Enemies ſupervive; who can hardly avoid to be dayly tormented by that horrid guilt, wherewith their ſuſpicious, or now convicted Conſciences do purſue them, eſpecially ſince they and all the world have ſeen, how falſe and un-intended thoſe pretenſions were, which they firſt ſet forth, as the only plauſible

plausible (though not justifiable) of raising a Warre, and continuing it thus long against me, and the Lawes established; in whose safety and preservation all honest. men think the welfare of their Countrey doth consist.

For, and with all which, it is farre more honourable and comfortable to suffer, then to prosper in their ruine and subversion.

I have often prayed, that all on my side might joyn true piety with the sense of their Loyalty ; and be as faithfull to God and their own soules, as they were to Me. That the defects of the one might not blast the endeavours of the other.

Yet I cannot think , that any shewes, or truth of piety on the other side were sufficient to dispence with, or expiate the defect of their Duty and Loyalty to me which have so pregnant convictions on mens Consciences, that even profaner men are moved by the sense of them to venture their lives for Me.

I never had any victory which was without my sorrow , because it was on Mine own Subjects, who like *Solsolom*, died many of them in their

sinne : And yet I never sufferd any Defeat, which made Me despair of Gods mercy and defence.

I never desired such Victories, as might serve to conquer, but only restore the Lawes and Liberties of My People ; which I saw were extreamly oppressed, together with My Rights by those men, who were impatient of any just restraint.

When Providence gave Me, or denied me Victory, My desire was neither to boast of my power, nor to charge God foolishly ; who I believed at last would make all things to work together for my good.

I wished no greater advantages by the Warre, then to bring My Enemies to moderation, and My Freinds to peace.

I was afraid of the temptation of an absolute conquest, and never prayed more for victory over others, then over my self. when the first was denied, the second was granted Me, which God saw best for me.

The different events were but the methods of divine justice, by contrary winds to winnow us: That by punishing our sins, he might purge them from us ; and by deferring Peace, he

he might prepare us more to prize, and better to use so great a blessing.

My often Messages for Peace shewed, that I delighted not in Warre: as my former Concessions sufficiently testified, how willingly I would have prevented it; and my totall unpreparednesse for it, how little I intended it.

The conscience of my innocency forbade Me to fear a Warre; but the love of my Kingdomes commanded Me (if possible) to avoid it.

I am guilty in this Warre of nothing, but this, That I gave such advantages to some men, by confirming their power, which they knew not to use with that modesty, and gratitude, which became their Loyalty and my confidence.

Had *I* yeelded lesse, I had been opposed lesse; had I denied more, I had been more obeyed.

'Tis now too late to review the occasions of the Warre; I wish only a happy conclusion, of so unhappy beginnings: The inevitable fate of our sinnes was (no doubt) such as would no longer suffer the divine justice to be quiet: we having conquerd his patience, are condemned by mu-

conquerings, to destroy one another: for the most prosperous successes on either side, impaire the welfare of the whole.

Those Victories are still miserable, that leave our sinnes unsubdued; flushing our pride, and animating to continue injuries.

Peace it self is not desireable, till repentance have prepared us for it.

When we fight more against our selves, and lesse against God, we shall cease fighting against one another; I pray God these may all meet in our hearts, and so dispose us to an happy conclusion of these Civil Warres; that I may know better to obey God, and govern My People, and they may learn better to obey both God and Me.

Nor doe I desire any man should be further subject to Me, then all of us may be subject to God.

O my God, make me content to be overcome, when thou wilt have it so.

Teach me the noblest victory over my self, and my Enemies by patience; which was Christs conquest, and may well become a Christian King.

Between,

Between both thy hands, the right sometimes supporting, and the left afflicting; fashion us to that frame of piety thou likest best.

Forgive the pride that attends our prosperous, and the repinings, which follow our disastrous events; when going forth in our owne strength thou withdrawest thine, & goest not forth with our Armies.

Be thou all, when we are something, and when we are nothing; that thou mayst have the glory, when we are in a victorious, or inglorious condition.

Thou O Lord knowest, how hard it is for me to suffer so much evill from my subjects, to whom I intend nothing but good; and I cannot but suffer in those evils which they compell me to inflict upon them punishing my selfe in their punishments.

Since therefore both in conquering, and being conquered, I am still a Sufferer; I beseech thee to give me a double portion of thy Spirit, and that measure of grace, which onely can be sufficient for me.

As I am most afflicted, so make me most reformed: that I may be not onely happy to see an end of these civill distractions, but a chiefe Instrument to restore and establish a firme, and blessed Peace to my Kingdomes.

Stirre up in all Parties pious ambitions to overcome each other with reason, moderation, and such self-deniall, as becomes those, who consider, that our mutuall divisions are our common distractions, and the Union of all is every good mans chiefest interest.

If O Lord, as for the sinnes of our peace, thou hast brought upon us the miseries of warre; so for the sinnes of warre thou shouldst see fit still to deny us the blessing of peace, and so to keep us in a circulation of miseries; yet give me thy Servant, and all Loyall, though afflicted Subjects, to enjoy that peace which the world can neither give to us, nor take from us.

Impute not to me the blood of my Subjects, which with infinite unwillingnesse and griefe, hath been shed by me, in my just and necessary defence; but wash me with that pretious blood, which hath been shed for me, by my great Peacemaker, Jesus Christ. Who will, I trust, redeem me shortly out of all my troubles: for I know the triumphing of the Wicked is but short and the joy of Hypocrites is but for a moment.

20. *Upon*

20. *Vpon the Reformations of the Times.*

NO Glory is more to be envied than that, of due Reforming either Church or State, when deformities are such, that the perturbation and novelty are not like to exceed the benefit of Reforming.

Although God should not honour Me so farre, as to make Me an Instrument of so good a worke, yet I should be glad to see it done:

As I was well pleased with this Parliaments first intentions to reform what the Indulgence of Times, and corruption of manners might have depraved; so I am sorry to see after the Freedome of Parliament was by factious Tumults oppressed, how little regard was had to the good Laws established, and the Religion setled, which ought to be the first rule and standard of reforming; with how much partiality, and popular compliance the passions, and opinions of men have been gratified, to the detriment of the Publique, and the infinite scandall

ſcandal of the Reformed Religion.

What diſſolutions of all Order, and Government, in the Church; what novelties of Schiſmes, and corrupt opinions; what undecencies and confuſions in ſacred adminiſtrations; what ſacrilegious invaſions upon the Rights and Revenues of the Church; what contempt and oppreſſions of the Clergy; what injurious diminutions and perſecutings of Me, have followed, (as ſhowres do warm gleames) the talke of Reformation, all ſober men are witneſſes, and with my ſelf, ſad Spectators hitherto.

The great miſcarriage I think is, that popular clamours and fury, have been allowed the reputation of Zeale, and the publique ſenſe; ſo that the ſtudy to pleaſe ſome Parties hath indeed injured all.

Freedome, moderation, and impartiallity are ſure the beſt tempers of reforming Counſels, and endeavours: what is acted by Factions, cannot but offend more, than it pleaſeth.

I have offered to put all differences in Church affaires and Religion to the free conſultation of a Synod or Convocation rightly choſen; the reſults

results of whose Counsels as they would have included the Votes of al, so its like they would have given most satisfaction to all.

The Assembly of Divines, whom the two Houses have applyed (in an unwonted way) to advise of Church Affaires, I dislike not further, then that they are not legally convened and chosen; nor Act in the name of all the Clergy of *England*; nor with freedome and impartiality can doe any thing, being limited and confined if not over-awed, to do and declare what they do.

For I cannot think so many men pryed up for learning and piety, who formerly allowed the Liturgy and Government of the Church of *England*, as to the maine, would have so suddenly agreed quite to abolish both of them, (the last of which, they knew to be of Apostolicall institution at least; as of Primitive and Vniversal practice) if they had been left to the liberty of their own suffrages, and the influence of contrary Factions had not by secret encroachments of hopes, and feares, prevailed upon them, to comply with so great and dangerous Innovations in the

Church; without any regard to their own former judgement and practice, or to the common interest and honour of all the Clergy, and in them of Order, Learning, and Religion against examples of all Ancient Churches, the Laws in force, & my consent; which is never to be gained, against so pregnant light, as in that point shines on My understanding.

For I conceive, that where the Scripture is not so clear and punctuall in precepts, there the constant and Universall practice of the Church, in things not contrary to Reason, Faith, good Manners, or any positive Command, is the best Rule that Christians can follow.

I was willing to grant, or restore to Presbitery, what with Reason or Discretion it can pretend to, in a conjuncture with Episcopacy; but for that wholly to invade the Power, and by the Sword to arrogate, and quite abrogate the Authority of that Ancient Order, I think neither just, as to Episcopacy, nor safe for Presbitery; nor yet any way convenient for this Church or State.

A due reformation had easily followed moderate Counsells; and such

such (I beleeve) as would have given more content, even to the most of those Divines, who have been led on with much Gravity and Formality, to carry on other mens designes: which no doubt many of them by this time discover, though they dare not but smother their frustrations, and discontents.

The specious and popular titles, of *Christs Government*, *Throne*, *Scepter*, and *Kingdom* (which certainly is not divided, nor hath two faces, as their parties now have, at least) also the noise of a *through-Reformation*, these may as easily be fixed on new models, as fair colours may be to ill-favoured figures.

The breaking of Church-windows, which Time had sufficiently defaced; pulling down of Crosses, which were but civill, not Religious marks; defacing of the Monuments, and Inscriptions of the Dead, which served but to put Posterity in mind, to thank God, for ỹ clearer light, wherein they live; ỹ leaving of all Misters to their liberties, & private abilities, in the Publick service of God, where no Christian can tell to ẅ he may say *Amen*; nor what adventure he may

may make, of seeming, at least, to consent to the Errours, Blasphemies and ridiculous Vndecencies, which bold and ignorant men list to vent in their Prayers, Preaching, and other Offices. The setting forth also of old Catechismes, and Confessions of Faith new drest, importing as much, as if there had been no sound or clear Doctrine of Faith in this Church, before some four or five yeares consultation had matured their thoughts touching their first Principles of Religion.

All these, and the like are the effects of popular, specious, and deceitfull Reformations, (that they might not seem to have nothing to do) and may give some short flashes of content to the vulgar, (who are taken with novelties, as children with babies, very much, but not very long. But all this amounts not to, nor can in Justice merit the glory of the Churches thorow Reformation; since they leave all things more deformed, disorderly, and discontented, then when they began, in point of Piety, Morality, Charity, and good Order.

Nor can they easily recompense

or remedy the inconveniences and mischiefs, which they have purchased so dearly, and which have, and ever will necessarily ensue., till due remedies be applied.

I wish they would at last, make it their Vnanimous work, to doe Gods work, and not their own: Had Religion been first considered (as it meeted) much trouble might have been prevented,

But some men thought, that the Government of this Church and State fixed by so many Lawes, and long Customes, would not run into their new moulds, till they had first melted it in the fire of a Civill Warre; by the advantages of which they resolved, if they prevailed, to make My self and all My Subjects fall down, and worship the Images they should form and set up: If there had been as much of Christs Spirit, for meeknesse, wisdome, and charity, in mens hearts, as there was of his name used in the pretensions, to reform all to Christs Rule, it would certainly have obtained more of Gods blessing, and produced more of Christs Glory, the Churches good, the Honour of Religion, and the Vnity of Christians.

Publick

Publick Reformers had need first Act in private, and practise that on their own hearts, which they purpose to trie on others; for Deformities within, will soon betray the pretenders of publick Reformations, to such private designes as must needes hinder the publick good.

I am sure the right Methods of Reforming the Church cannot consist with that of perturbing the Civil State, nor can Religion be justly advanced by depressing Loyalty, which is one of the chiefest Ingredients, and Ornaments of true Religion, for next to *fear God*, is *Honour the King*.

I doubt not but Christs Kingdome may be set up without pulling down Mine; nor wil any men in impartial times appear good Christians, that approve not themselves good Subjects. Christ's Government will confirm Mine, not overthrow it, since as I owne Mine from Him, so I desire to rule for his Glory, and his Churches good. Had some men truly intended Christ's Government, or knew what it meant, in their hearts, they could never have bin so ill governed in their words, & actions, both against me, and one another. A

As good ends cannot justifie evill means, so nor will evil beginnings ever bring forth good conclusions; unlesse God, by a miracle of Mercy, create Light out of Darknesse, order out of our confusions, and peace out of our passions.

Thou, O Lord, who onely canst give us beauty for ashes, and Truth for Hypocrisie: suffer us not to be miserably deluded with Pharisaicall washings, instead of Christian reformings.

Our greatest deformities are within, make us the severest Censurers, and first Reformers of our owne soules.

That we may in clearnesse of judgment and uprightnesse of heart be meanes to reforme what is indeed amisse in Church and State.

Create in us cleane hearts: O Lord, and renew right spirits within us; that we may doe all by thy directions, to thy glory, and with thy blessing.

Pity the deformities, which some rash & cruell Reformours have brought upon this Church and State; Quench the fires which Factions have kindled under the pretence of Reforming.

As thou hast shewed the world by their divi-

divisions, and confusions, what is the pravity of some mens intentions, and weaknesse of their judgement: to bring us at last more refined out of these fires, by the methods of Christian and charitable Reformations: wherein nothing of ambition, revenge, covetousnesse, or sacrilledge, may have any influence upon their counsels, whom thy providence in just and lawfull waies shall entrust with so great, good, and now most necessary worke. That I and my People may be blest with inward piety, as may best teach us how to use the blessing of outward peace.

21. *Upon*

21. *Vpon His Majesties Letters taken and divulged.*

THe taking of My Letters was an opportunity, which, as the malice of Mine enemies could hardly have expected; so they knew not how with honour and civility to use it: Nor doe I think with sober and worthy minds any thing in them, could tend so much to My reproach, as the odious divulging of them did to the infamy of the Divulgers: The greatest experiments of vertue and Nobleness being discovered in the greatest advantages against an enemy, and the greatest obligations being those, which are put upon us by them, from whom we could least have expected them.

And such I should have esteemed the concealing of My Papers; The freedome and secresie of which, commands a civility from all men, not wholly barbarous; nor is there any thing more inhumane than to expose them to publique view.

Yet since providence will have it

ſo, I am content ſo much of My hear
(which I ſtudy to approve to Gods
omniſcience) ſhould be diſcovered to
the world, without any of thoſe dreſ-
ſes, or popular captations, which
ſome men uſe in their Speeches, & Ex-
preſſes; I wiſh My Subjects had yet a
clearer ſight into My moſt retired
thoughts:

Where they might diſcover, how
they are divided between the love &
care I have, not more to preſerve My
owne Rights, than to procure their
peace and happineſſe, and that ex
treame grief to ſee them both dece
ved and deſtroyed.

Nor can any mens malice be grati
fied further by My Letters, than to ſe
My Conſtancy to My Wife, th
Lawes, and Religion. Bees will gath
Honey where ỹ Spider ſucks Poiſo

That I endeavour to avoid th
preſſures of my enemies, by all f
and juſt correſpondencies; no man c
blame, who loves me, or the Com
mon-wealth, ſince my Subjects c
hardly be happy if I be miſerable,
enjoy their peace and liberties wh
I am oppreſſed.

The world may ſee how ſoon me
deſign, like *Abſoloms*, is by enormo
actio

actions to widen differences, and exasperate all sides to such distances, as may make all reconciliation desperate.

Yet I thank God I can not only with patience bear this, as other indignities, but with Charity forgive them.

The integrity of My intentions is not jealous of any injury, My expressions can do them, for although the confidence of privacy may admit greater freedom in writing such Letters, which may be liable to envious exceptions; yet the Innocency of my chief purposes cánot be so strained or misinterpreted by them, as not to let all men see, that I wish nothing more then an happy composure of differences with Justice and Honour, not more to My own, then My peoples content, who have any sparks of Love or Loyalty left in them: who, by those My Letters may be convinced, that I can both mind and act My own, and My Kingdomes Affaires, so as becomes a Prince; which Mine Enemies have alwayes been very loath should be believed of me, as if I were wholly confined to the Dictates and Directions of others; whom they please to brand with the names of Evill Counsellours.

Its probable some men will now look upon me as my own Counsellour, and having none else to quarrell with under that notion, they will hereafter confine their anger to my self: Although I know they are very unwilling I should enjoy the liberty of my own Thoughts, or follow the light of my own Conscience, which they labour to bring into an absolute captivity to themselves; not allowing me to think their Counsels to be other then good for me, which have so long maintained a War against Me.

The Victory they obtained that day, when my Letters became their prize, had been enough to have satiated the most ambitious thirst of popular glory among the Vulgar; with whom prosperity gaines the greatest esteem and applause; as adversity exposeth to their greatest slightning and dis-respect: As if good fortune were alwayes the shadow of Vertue and Justice, and did not oftner attend vitious and injurious actions, as to this world.

But I see no secular advantages seeme sufficient to that cause, which began with Tumults, and depends chiefly upon the reputation with the vulgar. They

They think no Victories so effe ctuall to their designes as those, that most rout and waste my Credit with my People; in whose hearts they seek by all meanes to smother and extinguish all sparks of Love, Respect and Loyalty to Me, that they may never kindle again, so as to recover Mine, the Lawes, and the Kingdomes Liberties, which some men seek to overthrow: The taking away of my Credit is but a necessary preparation to the taking away of my Life, and my Kingdomes; First I must seem neither fit to Live, nor worthy to Reign, By exquisite methods of cunning and cruelty, I must be compelled, first to follow the Funeralls of my Honor, and then be destroyed: But I know Gods un-erring and impartiall Justice can, and will overrule the most perverse wills and designes of men; He is able, and (I hope) will turn even the worst of mine Enemies thoughts and actions to my good.

Nor doe I think, that by the surprize of my Letters, I have lost any more then so many papers: how much they have lost of that reputation, for Civility and Humanity (which ought to be payed to all men, and most be-

comes such as pretend to Religion) besides that of respect and Honour, which they owe to their KING, present, and after-times wil judge. And I cannot think that their owne consciences are so stupid, as not to inflict upon them some secret impressions of that shame and dishonour, which attends all unworthy actions, have they never so much of publique flatery, and popular countenance.

I am sure they can never expect the divine approbation of such indecent actions, if they doe but remember how God blest the modest respect and filiall tenderneſſe, which *Noah's* Sonnes bare to their Father; nor did his open infirmity justifie *Chams* impudency, or exempt him from that curse of being *Servant of Servants*; which curse must needs be on them who seek by dishonourable actions to please the Vulgar, and confirme by ignoble acts, their dependance upon the People.

Nor can their malitious intentions be ever either excusable, or prosperous; who thought by this means to expose Me, to the highest repro ach and contempt of my People; forgetting that duty of modest concealment

ment, which they owed to the Father of their Countrey, in caſe they had diſcovered any reall uncomelineſſe; which, I thank God they did not; who can, and I believe hath made me more reſpected in the hearts of many (as he did *David*) to whom they thought, by publiſhing my private Letters, to have rendred Me as a vile perſon, not fit to be truſted or conſidered, under any Notion of Majeſty.

But thou, O Lord, whoſe wiſe and all-diſpoſing providence, ordereth the greateſt contingences of humane affaires; make me to ſee the conſtancy of thy mercies to me, in the greateſt advantages thou ſemeſt to give the malice of my Enemies againſt me.

As thou didſt blaſt the counſel of Achitophel; *turning it to* Davids *good, and his owne ruine: ſo canſt thou defeat their deſigne, who intended by publiſhing my private Letters, nothing elſe, but to render me more odious and contemptible to My People. I muſt firſt appeale to thy Omniſcience, who canſt witneſſe with my integrity, how unjuſt and falſe thoſe ſchandalous miſconſtructions are, which my enemies endeavour by thoſe Papers of mine to repreſent to the world.*

Make the evill they imagined, and diſpleaſure they intended thereby againſt me,

ſo

so to returne on their owne heads, that they may be ashamed, and covered with their owne confusion, as with a Cloake.

Thou seest how mine Enemies use all meanes to cloud mine Honour, to pervert my purposes, and to slander the foot-steps of thine Anoynted.

But give me an heart content to be dishonoured for thy sake, and thy Churches good.

Fix in me a purpose to honour thee, and then I know thou wilt honour me, either by restoring to me the enjoyment of that Power and Majesty, which thou hast suffered some men to seek to deprive me of; or by bestowing on me that crowne of Christian patience, which knows how to serve thee in honour, or dishonour, in good report or evill.

Thou, O Lord, art the fountaine of goodnesse, and honour; thou art clothed with excellent Majesty; make me to partake of thy excellency for wisdome, justice, and mercy, and I shall not want that degree of Honour, and Majesty, which becomes the Place in which thou hast set Me; who art the lifter up of My head, and My salvation.

Lord, by thy Grace, lead Me to thy Glory, which is both true and eternall.

22. *Vpon*

22. *Vpon His Majesties leaving* Oxford, *and going to the* Scots.

ALthough God hath given Mee three Kingdomes, yet in these He hath not now left Me any place, where I may with Safety & Honour rest my Head: Shewing me that himself is the safest Refuge, and the strongest Tower of defence, in which I may put my Trust.

In these extremities, I look not to man so much as to God, He will have it thus; that I may wholly cast my self, and my now distressed affaires upon his mercy, who hath both hearts and hands of all men in his dispose.

What Providence denies to Force, it may grant to Prudence: Necessity is now my Counsellour, and commands me to study my safety by a disguised withdrawing from my chiefest strength, and adventuring uppon their Loyalty; who first began my Troubles. Happily God may make them a means honourably to compose them.

This my confidence of Them, may disarme and overcome them; my rendring my Person to Them, may engage their affections to me, who have oft professed, *They fought not against Me, but for Me.*

I must now resolve the riddle of their Loyalty: and give them opportunity to let the world see, they mean not what they doe, but what they say

Yet must God be my chiefest Guard and my Conscience both my Counsellour and my Comforter: Though I put my Body into their hand, yet I shall reserve My Soule to God, and my selfe: nor shall any necessities compel Me, to desert Mine Honour, or swerve from My Judgement.

What they sought to take by force, shall now be given them in such a way of vnusuall confidence of them, as may make them ashamed not to be really such, as they ought, and professed to be.

God sees it not enough to desert Me of all Military power to defend my self; but to put me upō using their power, who seem to fight against Me, yet ought in duty to defend Me,

So various are all humane affaires, and so necessitous may the state of Princes

Princes be, that their greateſt danger may be in their ſuppoſed ſafety, and their ſafety, in their ſuppoſed danger.

I muſt now leave thoſe, that have Adhered to me, and apply to thoſe that have Oppoſed me; this method of Peace may be more proſperous, than that of Warre, both to ſtop the effuſion of bloud, and to cloſe thoſe wounds already made: and in it I am no leſſe ſolicitous for my Friends ſafety, than mine owne: chuſing to venture my ſelfe upon further hazards, rather than expoſe their reſolute Loyalty to all extremites.

It is ſome skill in play to know when a game is loſt; better fairly to give over, than to conteſt in vaine.

I muſt now ſtudy to re-inforce my judgement, and fortifie my mind with Reaſon and Religion; that I may not ſeem to offer up my Souls liberty, or make my Conſcience their Captive; who ought at firſt to have uſed Arguments, not Armes, to have perſwaded my conſent to their new demands. I thank God no ſucceſſe, darkens or diſguiſes Truth to me; and I ſhal no leſſe, conforme my words to my inward dictates now, than if they had been, as the words of

of a KING ought to be among loy
all Subjects, *full of power.*

Reason is the divinest power.
shall never think my self weakne
while I may make full and free use o
that. No eclypse of outward fortun
shall rob me of that light; what Go
hath denied of outward strength, hi
grace, I hope, will supply with in
ward resolutions; not morosity t
deny, what is fit to be granted; bu
not to grant any thing, which Re
son and Religion bids me deny.

I shall never think my self lesse th
my self while I am able thus to pr
serve the Integrity of my Conscienc
the onely Iewell now left me, whi
is worth keeping.

O thou Soveraigne of our Soules, o
onely Commander of our Consciences
though I know not what to doe, yet m
eyes are toward thee: To the protection
thy mercy I still commend my selfe.

As thou hast preserved me in the d
of Battaile, so thou canst still shew me
strength in my weaknesse.

Be thou unto me in my darkest night,
pillar of fire, to enlighten and direct me;
the day of my hottest affliction, be als
pillar of cloud to overshadow and prot

m

ne; be to me, both a Sun and a Shield.

Thou knowest, that it is not any perverſneſſe of will, but juſt perſwaſions of Humour, Reaſon, and Religion, which have made me thus farre to hazard my Perſon, Peace, and Safety, againſt thoſe, that by force have ſought to wreſt them from Mee.

Suffer not my juſt reſolutions to abate with my outward Forces; let a good Conſcience alwaies accompany Me, in My ſolitude and deſertions.

Suffer me not to betray the powers of Reaſon, and that fortreſſe of My Soule, which I am intruſted to keep for thee.

Lead Me in the paths of thy righteouſneſſe, and ſhew me thy ſalvation.

Make my waies to pleaſe thee, and then thou wilt make Mine Enemies to be at peace with Me.

23. *Vpon*

23. *Upon the* Scots *delivering the* KING *to the* English; *and His Captivity at* Holmeby.

YEt may I justifie those *Scots* to all the world in this, that they have not deceived me; for I never trusted to them further, than to men: if I am sold by them, I am onely sorry they should doe it; & that my price should be so much above my Saviours.

These are but further Essays, which God will have me make of mans uncertainty, the more to fix me on himself; who never faileth them that trust in him; Though the Reeds of *Egypt* break under the hand of him that leans on them: yet the Rock of *Israel* will be an everlasting stay & defence.

Gods providence commands me to retire from all to himself, that in him I may enjoy my self, which I lose, while I let out my hopes to others.

The solitude and captivity, to which I am now reduced, gives me leisure enough to study the worlds vanity and inconstancy.

God

God sees 'tis fit to deprive me of Wife, Children, Army, Friends, and Freedome, that I may be wholly his, who alone is all.

I care not much to be reckoned among the Unfortunate, if I be not in the black List of irreligious, and sacrilegious Princes.

No Restraint shall ensnare my Soule in sin; nor gaine that of me, which may make my Enemies more insolent, my Friends ashamed, or my Name accursed.

They have no great cause to triumph, that they have got my Person into their power; since my Soule is still my owne: nor shall they ever gaine my Consent against my Conscience.

What they call obstinacy, I know God accounts honest constancy, from which Reason and Religion, as well as Honour, forbid me to recede.

'Tis evident now, that it was not Evil Counsellours with me, but a good Conscience in me, which hath been fought against; nor did they ever intend to bring me to my Parliament, till they had brought my mind to their obedience.

Should I grant what some men desire,

sire, I should be such as they wish me not more a King, and farre lesse bo Man and Christian.

What Tumults and Armies cou not obtaine, neither shall Restrain which though it have as little of fety to a Prince, yet it hath not mo of danger.

The feare of men shall never my snare; nor shall the love of liberty entangle my soule: Better thers betray me, than my self: that the price of liberty should be Conscience; the greatest injuries Enemies seek to inflict upon me, not be without my owne consent.

While I can deny with Reason, shall defeat the greatest impressions their malice, who neither kn how to use worthily, what I ha already granted; nor what to requ more of me but this, That I wo seem willing to help them to destr My self and Mine.

Although they should destroy m yet they shall have no cause to spise me.

Neither liberty nor life are so de to me, as the peace of my Conscien the Honour of my Crownes, a the welfare of my People; which

Wo

Word may injure more then any Warre can do; while I gratifie a few to oppresse all.

The Lawes will, by Gods blessing, revive, with the Love and Loyalty of my Subjects; if I bury them not by my Consent; and cover them in that grave of dishonour, and injustice, which some mens violence hath digged for them.

If my Captivity or death must be the price of their redemption, I grudge not to pay it.

No condition can make a King miserable which carries not with it, his Soules, his Peoples, and Posterities thraldom.

After-times may see; what the blindnesse of this Age will not; & God may at length shew my Subjects; ỹ I chuse rather to suffer for them, then w̃ them; happily I might redeem my self to some shew of liberty, if I would consent to enslave them: I had rather hazard the ruine of one King, then to confirm many Tyrants over them; from whom I pray God deliver them, whatever becomes of Me, whose solitude hath not left Me one.

For thou, O God, infinitelie good, great, art with me, whose presence better then life; and whose service is perfect freedom.

Own me for thy Servant, and I shall never have cause to complain for want that libertie, which becomes a Man, Christian, and a King.

Blesse Me still with Reason, as a Man with Religion, as a Christian; and with Constancie in Justice, as a King.

Though thou suffereſt Me to be stript all outward ornaments, Yet preserve ever in those enjoyments, wherein I enjoy thy self; and which, cannot be taken from Me against My will.

Let no fire of affliction boile over My passion to any impatience, or sordid fear.

There be many say of Me, There is no help for Me: do thou lift up the light of thy Countenance, upon Me, and I shall neither want safetie, libertie, nor Majestie.

Give Me that measure of patience & constancie, which my condition now requires.

My strength is scattered, My expectation from Men defeated, My Person restrained: O be not thou farre from Me, lest My Enemies prevaile too much against Me.

I am become a wonder, and a sc

to manie: O be thou my Helper and Defender.

Shew some token upon Me for good, that they that hate me may be ashamed, because thou Lord hast holpen and comforted me: establish me with thy free Spirit, that I may do, and suffer thy will, as thou wouldest have me.

Be mercifull to me, O Lord, for My Soul trusteth in thee: Yea and in the shadow of thy wings will I make my refuge, until these calamities be overpast.

Arise to deliver me, make no long tarying, O my God. Though thou killest me, Yet will I trust in thy mercie, and my Saviours merit.

I know that my Redeemer liveth; though thou leadest me through the vally and shadow of death, Yet shall I fear no ill.

24. *Upon*

24. *Vpon their denying His Majesty the Attendance of His Chaplaines.*

WHen Providence was pleased to deprive Me of all other civill comforts and secular attendants, I thought the absence of them all might best be supplyed by the attendance of some of My Chaplaines; who for their Function I reverence, and for their Fidelity I have cause to love. By their Learning, Piety, and Prayers, I hoped to be either better enabled to sustain the want of all other enjoyments, or better fitted for the recovery and use of them in Gods good time: so reaping by their pious help, a spirituall harvest of grace amidst the thorns and after the plowiugs of temporall crosses.

The truth is, I never needed or desired more the service and assistance of men Judiciously pious, and soberly devout.

The solitude they have confined Me

Me unto, adds the Wilderneſſe to my temptations; For the company they obtrude upon me, is more ſad then any ſolitude can be.

If I had asked My Revenues, my Power of the *Militia*, or any one of My Kingdoms, it had been no wonder to have been denyed in thoſe things, where the evill policy of men forbids all juſt reſtitution, leſt they ſhould confeſſe an injurious uſurpation: But to deny Me the Ghoſtly comfort of My Chaplaines, ſeems a greater rigour and barbarity, then is ever uſed by Chriſtians to the meaneſt Priſoners, and greateſt Malefactors; whom though the Juſtice of the Law deprive of wordly comforts, yet ỹ mercy of Religion allows them ỹ benefit of their Clergy, as not aiming at once to deſtroy their Bodies and to damn their Souls.

But My Agony muſt not be releeved with the preſence of any one good Angell; for ſuch I account a Learned, Godly, and diſcret Divine: and ſuch I would have all Mine to be.

They that envy My being a King, are loath I ſhould be a Chriſtian; while

they seek to deprive Me of all thing
else, they are afraid I should save m
Soul.

Other sense, Charity it self c
hardly pick out of those many har
Repulses I received, as to that R
quest so often made for the atte
dance of some of My Chaplaines

I have sometime thought the U
christianness of those denialls mig
arise from a displeasure some men h
to see me prefer my own Divines
fore their Ministers: Whom, thou
I respect for that worth and pi
which may be in them; yet I cann
thinke them so proper for any pres
comforters or Physitians; Who h
(some of them at least) had so gr
an influence in occasioning th
calamities, and inflicting th
wounds upon Me.

Nor are the sobereſt of them
apt for that devotionall complyan
and juncture of hearts, which I de
to bear in those holy Offices, to
performed with Me, and for Me; s
their judgements standing at a
stance from me, or in jealousie of
or in opposition against me, their S
rits cannot so harmoniously acc
with mine, or mine with the
eit

her in Prayer, or other holy duties, is meet, and most comfortable, hose golden Rule, and bond of Per-tion consists in that of mutuall ve and Charity.

Some remedies are worse then the ease, and some comforters more mi-able thē misery it self; whē like *Jobs* ends, they seek not to fortifie ones nd with patience; but perswade a n by betraying his own Inno-ncy, to despair of Gods mercy; d by Iustifying their injuries, to engthen the hands, and har-n the hearts of insolent Enemies. I am so much a friend to all Church-en, that have any thing in them be-eming that sacred function, that I ve hazarded my owne Interests, iefly upon Conscience and Con-ncy to maintaine their Rights; hom the more I looked upon as rphans, and under the sacrilegious es of many cruell and rapacious Re-rmers; so I thought it my duty the ore to appeare as a Father, and a Pa-n for them and the Church Al-ough I am very unhandsomly requi-d by some of them; who may live repent no lesse for My suffe gs, than their own ungratefull

errours, and that injurious contemp
and meanneſſe, which they have
brought upon their Calling and
Perſons.

I pity al of them, I diſpiſe none;
only I thought I might have leave to
make choice of ſome for My ſpecial
Attendants, who were beſt approved
in my Judgement, and moſt ſutable
to My affection. For, I held it better
to ſeem undevout, and to hear no
mens prayers, then to be forced or
ſeem to comply with thoſe peti
tions, to which the heart canno
conſent, nor the tongue ſay
Amen, without contradicting
mans own underſtanding, or belying
his own Soul.

In Devotions, I love neither pro
fane boldneſſe, nor pious non-ſenſe
but ſuch an humble and judicious
gravity as ſhews the Speaker to be
at once conſiderate both of God
Majeſty, the Churches honour, an
his own Vileneſſe; both knowing
what things God allows him to ask
and in what manner it becomes a
Sinner to ſupplicate the divine Mercy
for himſelf, and others.

I am equally ſcandalized with al
prayers, y ſound either imperiouſly,
or

or rudely, and passionately, as ei-
ther wanting humility to God,
or Charity to men, or respect to
the duty.

I confesse I am better pleased, as
with studied and premeditated Ser-
mons, so with much publique Forms
of Prayer, as are fitted to the Churches
and every Christians dayly and com-
mon necessities; because I am by
them better assured, what I may
joyn My heart unto, then I can be
of any mans extemporary sufficiency;
which as I do not wholly exclude
from publique occasions, so I allow its
just liberty and use in private and de-
vout retirements; where neither the
solemnity of the duty, nor the modest
regard to others, do require so great
exactnesse as to the outward manner
of performance. Though the light of
understanding, and the fervency of af-
fection, I hold the main and most ne-
cessary requisites both in constant
and occasionall, solitary, and sociall
devotions.

So that I must needs seem to al equal
minds with as much reason to prefer
the service of my own Chaplains be-
fore that of their Ministers, as I do the
liturgy before their Directory.

In the one, I have been alwa
educated and exercised; In the oth
I am not yet Catechized, nor acqua
ted: And if I were, yet should I not
that, as by any certain rule and Can
of devotion, be able to follow or f
out the indirect extravagancies
most of those Men, who highly
up that as a piece of rare compos
and use; which is already as mu
despised and disused by many of the
as the Common-prayer sometim
was by those men; a great part
whose piety hung upon that popu
pin of rayling against, & contemn
the Government, and Liturgy of
Church. But, I had rat
be condemned to the Woe of
soli, than to that of *Væ vobis*
positis, by seeming to pray w
I do not approve.

It may be, I am esteemed by
Denyers sufficient of My selfe to
scharge My duty to GOD as a Pri
though not to Men as a Prince.

Indeed, I think both Offices, Re
and Sacerdotall, might well bec
the same Person; as anciently t
were under one name, & the un
rights of primogeniture: Nor c
I follow better presidents, i
w

e able, than those two eminent
gs, *David*, and *Solomon*; not more
ous for their Scepters and Crownes
n one was for devout Psalmes and
yers; the other for his divine Para-
and Preaching: whence the one
rited and assumed the name of a
phet, the other of a Preacher.
les indeed of greater honour,
ere rightly placed, than any of
se the Roman Emperours affected
m ỹ Nations they subdued: it being
nitely more glorious to convert
les to Gods Church by the Word,
n to conquer men to a subjection
he Sword.
Yet since the order of Gods wis-
ne and providence hath, for the
st part, alwaies distinguished the
s & offices of Kings, & Priests, of
nces and Preachers; both in the
wish and Christian Churches: I am
y to find My selfe reduced to the
cessity of being both, or enjoying
ther.
For such as seek to deprive Me of
gly Power and Soveraignty;
uld no lesse enforce Me to live ma-
Months without all Prayers, Sa-
ments, and Sermons, unlesse I be
me My owne Chaplaine.

As

As I owe the Clergy the protec
on of a Christian KING, so I desire
enjoy from them the benefit of th
gifts and prayers; which I look up
as more prevalent then My own,
other mens; by how much they fl
from minds more enlightned, and a
ctions lesse distracted, then thos
which are encombred with secular
faires: besides, I think a greater bl
sing and acceptableness attends th
duties, which are rightly perform
as proper to, and within the limit
that calling, to which God and
Church have specially designed
consecrated some men: And howe
as to that Spirituall Government,
which the devout Soul is subjec
Christ, and through his merits d
offers it self and its service to Go
every private beleever is a King
Priest, invested with the honour
Royall Priesthood; yet as to Ecc
asticall order, and the outward Pol
of the Church, I think confus
in Religion will as certa
follow every mans turning Priest
Preacher, as it will in the Stat
where every one affects to rule
King.

I was alwayes bred to more
de

t, and I think more pious Princi-
s: the conſciouſneſſe of my ſpiri-
ll defects makes me more prize &
ire thoſe pious aſſiſtances, which
ly and good Miniſters, either Bi
ops or Presyters, may afford me,
ecially in theſe extremities, to
ich God hath been pleaſed to
ffer ſome of my Subjects to re-
ce Me; ſo as to leave them nothing
ore, but my life to take from me: &
leave me nothing to deſire,
hich I thought might leſſe pro-
ke their jealouſie and offence
deny me, then this of having ſome
eans afforded me for My Soules
mfort and ſupport.

To which end I made choice of
en, as no way (that I know) ſcan-
lous, ſo every way eminent for
eir Learning & Piety; no leſſe then
r their Loyalty: nor can I imagine
y exceptions to be made againſt
em, but only this, that they
ay ſeem too able and to well affe-
ed toward Me and My ſervice.

But this is not the firſt ſervice (as I
ount it the beſt) in which they have
rced Me to ſerve My ſelf, though I
uſt confeſſe I beare with more grief
d impatience the want of My

Chap-

Complaines, than of any other M
Servants; and next (if not beyo
in some things) to the being seque
tred from my Wife and Children, sin
from these indeed more of humane
temporary affections, but from tho
more of heavenly and eternal i
provements may be expected

My comfort is, that in the infc
ced (not neglected) want of ordin
ry meanes, God is wont to afford e
traordinary supplies of his gifts &gr
ces. If His Spirit will teach Me a
help My Infirmities in prayer, readi
and meditation (as I hope he will)
shall need no other, either Orato
or Instructer.

To Thee therefore, O My God, dc
direct My now solitary prayers: wha
want of others help, supply with t
more immediate assistance of thy Spiri
which alone can both enlighten My dar
nesse, and quicken My dulnesse.

O thou Sun of righteousnesse, thou
cred Fountaine of heavenly light a
heat, at once cleare and warme my hear
both by instructing of me, and inter
ding for me: In thee is all fulnesse: Fr
thee all sufficiency: By thee is all acce
tance. Thou art company enough, a
comfort enough: Thou art my King,
al

also my Prophet and my Priest. Rule me, teach me, pray in me, for me; and be thou ever with me.

The single wrestlings of Iacob prevailed with thee, in that sacred Duell, when he had none to second him but thy self; who didst assist him with power to overcome thee, and by a welcome violence to wrest a blessing from thee.

O look on me thy Servant, in infinite mercy; whom thou didst once blesse with the joint and sociated Devotions of others, whose fervency might inflame the coldnesse of my afflictions towards thee, when we went to, or met in thy House with the voice of joy and gladnesse, worshipping thee in the unity of spirits, and with the bond of Peace.

O forgive the neglect, and not improving of those happy opportunities.

It is now thy pleasure that I should be as a Pelican in the wildernesse, as a Sparrow on the house top, and as a coale scattered from all those pious glowings, and devout reflections, which might best kindle, preserve, and encrease the holy fire of thy graces on the Altar of my heart, whence the sacrifice of prayers, and incense of praises, might be duly offered up to thee.

Yet

Let O thou that breakeſt not the b
ed Reed, nor quencheſt the ſmoaking
do not deſpiſe the weakneſſe of my
ers, nor the ſmotherings of my Si
this uncomfortable loneneſſe; to wh
am conſtrained by ſome mens uncha
denialls of thoſe helps, which I
want, and no leſſe deſire.

O let the hardneſſe of their h
occaſion the ſoftnings of Mine to th
for Them. Let their hatred kindl
love, let their unreaſonable denialls
Religious deſires the more exci
prayers to thee. Let their inex
deafneſſe encline thine ear to Me;
art a God eaſie to be entreated; thin
is not heavy, that it cannot, nor thy
hard, that it will not hear, ne
hand ſhortned, that it cannot help
thy deſolate Supplyant.

Thou permitteſt men to deprive
thoſe outward means, which thou
appointed in thy Church; but they
not debarre me from the commun
that inward grace, which thou
breatheſt into humble hearts.

O make me ſuch, and thou wilt
me; thou wilt hear me, thou wilt
me: The broken and contrite h
know thou wilt not deſpiſe.

Thou, O Lord canſt at once m

…e thy Temple, thy Priest, thy Sacri-
…e, and thine Altar; while from a
…mble heart I (alone) dayly offer up in
…y meditations, fervent prayers, and
…feigned tears my self to thee; who pre-
…rest me for thee, dwellest in me, and ac-
…test of me.

Thou O Lord didst cause by secret sup-
…s and miraculous infusions, that the
…dfull of meall in the vessell should not
…d, nor the little oyle in the cruise faile
Widow during the time of drought
…dearth.

O look on my soul, which as a Widow,
…w desolate and forsaken: let not those
…ing Truths I have formerly learned
…fail my memory; nor the sweet effu-
…s of thy Spirit, which I have some-
…felt, now be wanting to my heart in
…famine of ordinary and wholsome
…for the refreshing of my Soull.

Which yet I had rather chuse then to
…from those hands who mingle mybread
…ashes, and my wine with gall, rather
…nting, then teaching me; whose
…hs are prone to bitter reproaches
…; then to hearty prayers for me.

Thou knowest, O Lord of Truth, how
…ey have wrest thy holy Scriptures
…y destruction, (which are clear for
…subjection, and my preservation)

O let it not be to their damnation.

Thou knowest how some men (under colour of long prayers) have sought to devoure the houses of their Brethren, their King, and their God.

O let not those mens halmes break my head, nor their Cordialls oppresse my heart. I will evermore pray against their wickednesse.

From the poyson under their tongues, from the snares of their lips, from the fire, and the swords of their words deliver me, O Lord, and all those Loyall and Religious hearts, who desire and delight in the prosperity of my soul, and who seek by their prayers to relieve this sadnesse, and solitude of thy servant, O my King and my God.

25. Pen

25. Penetentiall Meditations and Vowes in the KINGS ſolitude at *Holmeby*.

GIve ear to my words O Lord, conſider my Meditation, and hearken to the voice of my cry, my King and my God, for unto thee will I pray.

I ſaid in my haſte I am caſt out of the ſight of thine eyes; nevertheleſſe thou heareſt the voice of my ſupplication, when I cry unto thee.

If thou Lord ſhouldſt be extream to mark what is done amiſſe, who can abide it? But there is mercy with thee, that thou mayeſt be feared; therefore ſhall ſinners fly unto thee.

I acknowledg my ſins before thee, which have the aggravation of my condition; the eminency of my place adding weight to my offences.

Forgive, I beſeech thee, my Perſonall, and Peoples ſinnes; which are ſo farre mine as I have not improved the power thou haveſt me to thy glory, and my Subjects good: Thou haſt now brought me from

the glory and freedome of a King, to b
Prisoner to my own Subjects; Justi
O Lord, as to thy over-ruling hand,
cause in many things I have rebelled
gainst thee.

Though thou hast restrained my Po
son, yet enlarge my heart to thee, and
grace towards Me.

I come far short of Davids *piety;*
since I may equall Davids *afflictio*
give me also the comforts and the s
mercies of David.

Let the penitent sense I have of
sins, be an evidence to me, that thou h
pardoned them.

Let not the evils, which I and
Kingdomes have suffered, seem little
thee; though thou hast not punished us
cording to our sins.

Turne thee (O Lord) unto me; ha
mercy upon me, for I am desolate
afflicted.

The sorrowes of my heart are enlarg
O bring thou me out of my troubles.

Hast thou forgotten to be gracious,
wilt thou shut up thy loving kindnesse
displeasure?

O remember thy compassions of old,
thy loving kindnesses, which have b
for many generations.

I had utterly fainted, if I had not
lee

eved to see thy goodnesse in the land of the
ving.

Let not the sinnes of our prosperity
eprive us of the benefit of thy afflicti-
s.

Let this fiery triall consume the drosse,
hich in long peace and plenty we had
ntracted.

Though thou continuest miseries, yet
ithdraw not thy grace; what is wan-
g of prosperity, make up in patience
d repentance.

And if thy anger be not to be yet turned
way, but thy hand of justice must be
tched out still; Let it I beseech thee be
inst me, and my Fathers house; as
these sheep, what have they done?

Let my sufferings satiate the malice of
e, and thy Churches Enemies.

But let their cruelty never exceed the
sure of my charity.

Banish from me all thoughts of Re-
ge, that I may not lose the reward,
thou the glory of my patience.

As thou givest me a heart to forgive
n, so I beseech thee doe thou forgive
at they have done against thee and me.

And now, O Lord, as thou hast given
n heart to pray unto thee; so hear
accept this Vow, which I make be-
thee.

If thou wilt in mercy remember Me and my Kingdoms, In continuing the light of thy Gospell, and setling thy true Religion among us.

In restoring to us the benefit of the Lawes, and the due execution of Iustice.

In suppressing the many Schismes in Church, and Factions in State.

If thou wilt restore me and mine to the Ancient rights and glorie of my Predecessours.

If thou wilt turn the hearts of my people to thy self in Piety, to me in Loyalty and to one another in Charitie.

If thou wilt quench the flames, and withdraw the fewell of these Civil Warres.

If thou wilt blesse us with the freedom of publick Counsells, and deliver the Honour of Parliaments from the insolencie of the vulgar.

If thou wilt keep me from the grievous offence of enacting any thing against my Conscience; and especiallie from consenting to sacrilegious rapines, and spoilings of thy Church.

If thou wilt restore me to a capacitie to glorifie thee in doing good, both to Church and State.

Then shall my Soull praise thee, and magnifie thy name before my People.

The

Then shall thy glory be dearer to Mee then my Crownes; and the advancement of true Religion both in Puritie and Power be my chiefest care.

Then will I rule my People with Iustice, and my Kingdoms with equitie.

To thy more immediate hand shall I ever own as the rightfull successien, so the mercifull restauration of My Kingdoms, and the glory of them.

If thou wilt bring Me again with Peace, Safetie, and Honour, to My chiefest citie, and My Parliament.

If thou wilt again put the Sword of Iustice, into My hand to Punish and Protect.

Then will I make all the world to see, and my verie Enemies to enjoy the benefit of this Vow and Resolution of Christian Charitie, which I now make unto thee O Lord.

As I do freely pardon for Christs sake those that have offended me in any kind; so my hand shall never be against any man to revenge what is past, in regard of any particular injury done to Mee.

We have been mutually punished in our unnaturall divisions; for thy sake O Lord, and for the love of My Redeemer, have I purposed this in my heart, That I will use all means in the wayes of ammesty

and indempnity, which may most fully remove all fears, and bury all jealousies in forgetfulnesse.

Let thy mercies be toward me and mine, as my resolutions of Truth and Peace are toward my People.

Heare my prayer O Lord, which goeth not out of fayned lips.

Blessed be God, who hath not turned away my prayer; nor taken his mercy from me.

O my soule, commit thy way to the Lord, trust in him, and he shall bring it to passe.

But if thou wilt not restore me and mine, what am I that I should charge thee foolishly?

Thou O Lord hast given, and thou hast taken, Blessed be thy name.

May my People and thy Church be happy, if not by me, yet without me.

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26. *Upon*

26. *Upon the Armies Surprisall of the* KING *at* Holmeby, *and the ensuing distractions in the two Houses, the Army, and in the City.*

WHat part God will have me now to act or suffer in this new and strange scene of affaires, I am not much solicitous; some little practise will serve that man, who onely seeks to represent a part of of Honesty and Honour,

This surprizè of Me tells the world that a KING cannot be so low, but He is considerable; adding weight to that Party where he appeares.

This motion, like others of the Times., seems excentrique and irregular, yet not well to be resisted or quieted; Better swim down such a stream, than in vain to strive against it.

These are but the struglings of those twins which lately one womb

encloſed, the younger ſtriving to prevaile againſt the elder; what the Preſbyterians have hunted after, the Independents now ſeek to catch for themſelves

So impoſſible is it for lines to be drawn from the center, and not to divide from each other, ſo much the wider, by how much they go farther from the point of union.

That the Builders of *Babel* ſhould from diviſion fall to confuſion, is no wonder, but for thoſe that pretend to build *Ieruſalem*, to divide their tongues and hands, is but an ill *omen*, and ſounds too like the fury of thoſe Zealots, whoſe inteſtine bitternes & diviſions were ſ greateſt occaſion of the laſt fatall deſtruction of that City.

Well may I change my Keepers and Priſon, but not my Captive condition, onely with this hope of bettering, that thoſe who are ſo much profeſſed Patrons for the Peoples Liberties, cannot be utterly againſt the Liberty of their King; what they demand for their owne Conſciences, they cannot in Reaſon deny to Mine.

In this they ſeem more ingenuous, than the Presbyterian rigour, who,

ſome.

sometimes complaining of exacting their conformity to laws, are become the greatest Exactors of other mens submission to their novell injunctions, before they are stamped with the Authority of lawes, which they cannot well have without My consent.

Tis a great argument, that the Independents think themselves manumitted from their Rivals service, in that they carry on a businesse of such consequence, as the assuming My Person into the Armies custody, without any Commissions but that of their owne will and power, Such as will thus adventure on a King, must not be thought over-modest, or timerous to carry on any designe they have a mind to.

Their next motion menaces, and scares both the two Houses and the City: which soone after acting over again that former part of tumultuary motions, (never questioned, punished, or repented) must now suffer for both; and see their former sinne in the glasse of the present terrours and distractions.

No man is so blind as not to see herein the hand of diuine justice; they that

that by Tumults first occasioned the raising of Armies, must now be chastened by their owne Army for new Tumults.

So hardly can men be content with one sin, but adde sin to sin, till the latter punish the former; such as were content to see Me and many Members of both Houses driven away by the first unsuppressed Tumults, are now forced to flie to an Army, or defend themselves against them.

But who can unfold the riddle of some mens justice; the Members of both Houses who at first withdrew, (as My self was forced to doe) from the rudeness of the Tumults, were counted Desertors, and outed of their Places in Parliament.

Such as stayed there, and enjoyed the benefit of the Tumults, were asserted for the onely Parliament-men. now the Fliers from, and Forsakers of their Places, carry the Parliamentary power along with them; complaine highly against the Tumults, & vindicate themselves by an Army: such as remained and kept their stations, are looked upon as Abettors of tumultuary insolencies, and Betrayers of the freedome and honour of Parliament. Thus

Thus is Power above all Rule, Order, and Law; where men look more to present Advantages than their Consciences, and the unchangeable rules of Iustice; while they are Iudges of others, they are forced to condemn themselves.

Now the plea against Tumults holds good, the Authours and Abettors of them are guilty of prodigious insolencies; when as before, they were counted as Friends & necessary Assistants.

I see Vengeance pursues and overtakes (as the Mice and Rats are said to have done a Bishop in *Germany*) them that thought to have escaped and fortified themselves most impregnably against it, both by their multitude and compliance.

Whom the Laws cannot, God will punish, by their owne crimes & hands I cannot but observe this divine Iustice, yet with sorrow and pity; for, I alwaies wished so well to Parliament and City, that I was sorry to see them doe, or suffer, any thing unworthy such great and considerable bodies in this Kingdome.

I was glad to see them onely scared and humbled, not broken by that shaking:

ſhaking: I never had ſo ill a though
of thoſe Cities as to deſpaire of the
Loyalty to Me; which miſtake
might eclipſe, but I never believe
malice had quite put out.

I pray God the ſtorme be ye
wholly paſſed over them; upon whom
I look, as Chriſt did ſometime ove
Ieruſalem, as objects of my prayer
and teares, with compaſſionate griefe
foreſeeing thoſe ſeverer ſcattering
which will certainly befall ſuch
wantonly refuſe to be gathered t
their duty: *fatal* blindneſſe frequent
ly attending and puniſhing *willfull*;
that men ſhall not be able at laſt t
prevent their ſorrows who would no
timely repent of their ſins; nor ſha
they beſuffered to enjoy the *comforts*
who ſecurely neglect y counſels be
longing to their peace. They will fin
that Brethren in iniquity are not far
from becomming inſolent enemie
there being nothing harder then t
keep ill men long in one mind.

Nor is it poſſible to gaine a faire p
riod for thoſe notions which g
rather in a round and circle of fanſi
than in a right line of reaſon tendi
to the Law, the onely center of pu
lique conſiſtency; whither I pray G
at laſt bring all ſides. Whi

Which will eaſily be done, whé we ſhall fully ſee how much more happy we are, to be ſubject to known Laws, than to the various wils of any men, ſeeme they never ſo plauſible at firſt.

Vulgar compliance with any illegall and extravagant waies, like violent motions in nature, ſoon grows weary of it ſelf, and ends in a refractory ſullenneſſe: Peoples rebounds are oft in their faces, who firſt put them upon thoſe violent ſtrokes.

For the Army (which is ſo far excuſable, as they act according to Souldiers principles, and intereſt, demanding Pay and Indempnity) I think it neceſſary, in order to the publike peace, ſ that they ſhould be ſatiſfied, as far as is juſt; no man being more prone to conſider them than My ſelf: though they have fought againſt Me, yet I cannot but ſo farre eſteem that valour & gallantry they have ſometime ſhewed, as to wiſh I may never want ſuch men to maintain My ſelfe, My Lawes, and My Kingdoms, in ſuch a peace, as wherein they may enjoy their ſhare & proportion as much as any men.

But thou O Lord, who art perfect Vnity in a ſacred Trinity, in mercy behold thoſe, whom thy Iuſtice hath divided. De-

Deliver Me from the strivings of M
People, and make Me to see how muc
they need My prayers and pity, who a
greed to fight against Me, and yet a
now ready to fight against one another;
the continuance of My Kingdomes distr
ctions.

Discover to all sides the waies of peac
from which they have swarved: whic
consists not in the divided wills of Partic
but in the joynt and due observation of th
Lawes.

Make Me willing to go whither tho
wilt lead Me by thy providence; and
thou ever with Me, that I may see thy co
stancy in the worlds variety and change

Make me even such as thou would
have Me, that I may at last enjoy th
safety and tranquillity which thou alo
canst give Me.

Divert, I pray thee, O Lord, thy hea
wrath justly hanging over those popul
Cities, whose plenty is prone to adde few
to their luxury, their wealth to ma
them wanton, their multitudes tem
ting them to security, & their securi
exposing them to unexpected mis
ries.

Give them eyes to see, hearts to con
der, wils to embrace, and courage
act those things which belong to thy glo

and the publique peace, lest their calamity come upon them as an armed man.

Teach them, That they cannot want enemies who abound in sinne, nor shall they be long undisarmed and undestroyed, who with a high hand persisting to fight against thee and the cleare convictions of their owne consciences, fight more against themselves, than ever they did against Me.

Their sinnes exposing them to thy Justice, their riches to others injuries, their number to Tumults, and their Tumults to confusion.

Though they have with much forwardnesse helped to destroy Me, yet let not my fall be their ruine.

Let Me not so much consider, either what they have done, or I have suffered, (chiefly at first by them) as to forget to imitate My crucified Redeemer, to plead their ignorance for their pardon; and in My dying extremities to pray to thee O Father to forgive them, for they knew not what they did.

The teares they denied Me in My saddest condition, give them grace to bestow upon themselves, who the lesse they weep for Me, the more cause they have to weep for themselves.

O let not My bloud be upon them and

their Children, whom the fraud a faction of some, not the malice of all, hat excited to crucifie Me.

But thou, O Lord, canst, and wi (as thou didst My Redeemer) both exa and perfect Me by My sufferings, whic have more in them of thy mercy, than mans cruelty or thy owne justice.

27. *To the Prince of* Wales.

SOn, if these Papers, with som others, wherein I have set dow the private reflections of my Conse ence, & my most impartiall though touching the chiefe passages, whic have been most remarkable, or disp ted in my late troubles, come to yo hands, to whom they are chiefly d signed; they may be so far usefull t you, as to state your judgeme a right in what hath passed; where a pious is the best use can be made; they may also give you some direc ons, how to remedy the prese distempers, and prevent (if God wi the like for time to come.

It is som kind of deceiving and leſſening the injury of my long reſtraint when I find my leiſure and ſolitude have produced ſomething worthy of my ſelf, and uſefull to you; That either you; nor any other, may hereafter meaſure my Cauſe by the Succeſſe; nor my Iudgment of things by My misfortunes; which I count the greater by farre, becauſe they have ſo farre lighted upon you, and ſome others, whom I have moſt cauſe to love as wel as My ſelf, & of whoſe unmerited ſufferings I have a greater ſenſe then of Mine own.

But this advantage of wiſedome you have above moſt Princes; that you have begun, and now ſpent ſome yeares of diſcretion, in the experience of troubles, and exerciſe of patience, wherein Piety, and all Vertues, both Morall and Politicall, are commonly better planted to a thriving (as trees ſet in winter) then in the warmth, & ſerenity of times; or a midſt thoſe delights, which uſually attend Princes Courts in times of peace and plenty, which are prone, either to root up all plants of true Vertue and Honour; or to be contented only with ſome leaves, and withe

ring formalities of them, without any reall fruits, such as tend to the Publick good; for which Princes should always remember they are born and by providence designed.

The evidence of which different education the holy Writ affords us in the contemplation of *David* and *Roboam*: The one prepared, by many afflictions for a flourishing Kingdom; the other softned by the unparaleld prosperity of *Solomons* Court; and so corrupted to a great diminution both for Peace, Honour, and Kingdome, by those flatteries, which are as unseparable from prosperous Princes, as Flies are from fruit in summer; whom adversity, like cold weather, drives away,

I had rather you should be *Charle Bon*, then *le Grand*, good, then great; I hope God hath designed you to be both, having so early put you into that exercise of his Graces, and gifts bestowed upon you, which may best weed out all vicious inclinations and dispose you to those Princely endowments, and employments which will most gain the love, and intend the welfare of those, over whom God shal place you.

Wit

With God I would have you begin and end, who is King of Kings; the Soveraign disposer of the Kingdomes of the world, who pulleth downe one, and setteth up another.

The best Government, and highest Soveraignty you can attain to is, to be subject to him, that the Scepter of his Word and Spirit may rule in your heart.

The true glory of Princes consists in advancing Gods Glory in the maintenance of true Religion, and the Churches good; Also in the dispensation of civill Power, with Justice and Honour to the publick Peace.

Piety will make you prosperous; at least it will keep you from being miserable; nor is he much a loser, that loseth all, yet saveth his owne soule at last.

To which Center of true Happinesse God, I trust, hath and will graciously direct all these black lines of Affliction, which he hath been pleased to draw on me, and by which he hath (I hope) drawn me nearer to himself. You have already tasted of that cup whereof I have liberally drank, which I look upon as Gods Physick, having that in healthfulnesse

neſſe which it wants in pleaſure.

Above all, I would have you, as I hope you are already; well-grounded and ſetled in your Religion: The beſt profeſſion of which; I have ever eſteemed that of the Church of England, in which you have been educated; yet I would have your own Iudgement and Reaſon now ſeal to that ſacred bond which education hath writtē, that it may be judiciouſly your own Religion, & not othermens cuſtome or tradition, which you profeſſe. In this I chatge you to perſevere, as comming neareſt to God Word for Doctrine, and to the primitive examples for Government, with ſome little amendment, which I have otherwhere expreſſed, and often offered, though in vain. Your fixation in matters of Religion wil not be more neceſſary for your ſoules then your Kingdomes peace, when God ſhall bring you to them.

For I have obſerved, that the Devill of Rebellion, doth commonly turn himſelf into an Angell of Reformation; and the old Serpent can pretend new Lights: when ſome mens Conſciences accuſe them for Sedition and Faction, they ſtop its mouth with

the name and noiſe of Religion; when Piety pleads for peace and patience, they cry out zeale.

So that, unleſſe in this point You be well ſetled, you ſhall never want temptations to deſtroy you & yours, under pretenſions of reforming matters of Religion; for that ſeemes; even to worſt men, as the beſt and moſt auſpicious beginning of their worſt deſignes.

Where, beſides the novelty which is taking enough with the Vulgar, every one hath an affectation, by ſeeming forward to an outward Reformation of Religion, to be thought zealous; hoping to cover thoſe irreligious deformities, whereto they are conſcious by a ſeverity of cenſuring other mens opinions or actions.

Take heed of abetting any Factions, or applying to any publick Diſcriminations in matters of Religion, contrary to what is in your Judgement, and the Church well ſetled, your partiall adhering, as head, to any one ſide, gaines you not ſo great advantages in ſome mens hearts (who are prone to be of their *Kings* religion) as it loſeth you in others; who think them-

themselves, and their profession first despised, then persecuted by you. Take such a course as may either with calmnes and charity quite remove the seeming differences and offences by impartiality, or so order affaires in poynt of Power that you shal not need to fear or flatter any Faction. For if ever you stand in need of them, or must stand to their courtesie, you are undone: The Serpent will devour the Dove: you may never expect lesse of loyalty, justice or humanity, than from those, who engage into religious Rebellion. Their intereſt is alwaies made Gods under the colours of Piety, ambitious policies march, not onely with greatest security, but applause, as to the populacy; you may heare from them *Jacob's* voice, but you shall feele they have *Esau's* hands.

Nothing seemed lesse considerable than the Presbyterian Faction in *England*, for many yeares; so compliant they were to publique order nor indeed was their Party great either in Church, or State, as to mens judgments: But as soone as discontents drave men into Sidings (as ill humours fall to the disaffected part which

which causes inflamations) so did al, at first, who affected any novelties, adhere to that Side, as the most remarkable and specious note of difference (then) in point of Religion.

All the lesser Factions at first were officious Servants to Presbytery their great Master: till time and military successe discovering to each their peculiar advantages, invited them to part stakes, and leaving the joynt stock of uniforme Religion, pretended each to drive for their Party the trade of profits and preferments, to the breaking and undoing not onely of the Church and State, but even of Presbytery it self, which seemed and hoped at first to have ingrossed all.

Let nothing seem little or despicable to you in matters which concerne Religion and the Churches peace, so as to neglect a speedy reforming and effectuall suppressing Errours and Schismes, which seem at first but as a hand-bredth, but by seditious Spirits, as by strong winds are soon made to cover and darken the whole Heaven.

When you have done justice to God, your owne soule and his Church in the profession and preservation both

of truth and unity in Religion: the next main hinge on which your prosperity wil depend, and move, is, that of civill Justice, wherein the setled Laws of these Kingdomes, to which you are rightly Heire, are the most excellent rules you can govern by, Which by an admirable temperament give very much to Subjects industry, liberty, and happinesse; and yet reserve enough to the Majesty and prerogative of any King, who ownes his People as Subjects, not as Slaves; whose subjection, as it preserves their property, peace, and safety, so it will never diminish your Rights, nor their ingenuous Liberties; which consists in the enjoyment of the fruits of their industry, and the benefit of those Lawes to which themselves have consented.

Never charge your Head with such a Crowne, as shall by its heavinesse oppresse the whole body, the weaknesse of whose parts cannot returne any thing of strength, honour, or safety, to the Head, but a necessary debilitation and ruine.

Your Prerogative is the best shewed & exercised in remitting, rather than exacting the rigor of ỹ Lawes; there being

being nothing worse than legall Tyranny. In these two points, the preservation of established Religion, and Lawes, I may (without vanity) turne the reproach of My sufferings, as to the worlds censure, into the honour of a kind of Martyrdome, as to the testimony of My owne Conscience: The Troublers of My Kingdomes having nothing else to object against Me but this, That I preferre Religion, and Lawes established before those alterations they propounded.

And so indeed I doe, and ever shall, till I am convinced by better Arguments, than what hitherto have been chiefly used towards me, Tumults, Armies, and Prisons.

I cannot yet learne that lesson, nor I hope ever will you, That it is safe for a King to gratifie any Faction with the perturbation of the Lawes, in which is wrapt up the publique Interest, and the good of the Community.

How God will deale with Me, as to the removall of these pressures, and indignities, which his justice by the very unjust hands of some of my Subjects, hath been pleased to lay upon Me, I cannot tell: nor am I much soli-

ſolicitous what wrong I ſuffer from men, while I retaine in My ſoule what I believe is right before God.

I have offered all for Reformation and Safety, that in Reaſon, Honour, and Conſcience I can; reſerving onely what I cannot conſent unto without an irreparable injury to My own Soule, the Churchs and My People, and to You alſo, as the next and undoubted Heire of My Kingdomes.

To which if the divine Providence, to whom no difficulties are inſuperable, ſhall in his due time after My deceaſe bring You, (as I hope he will) My counſel and charge to You, is, That You ſeriouſly conſider the former, reall, or objected miſcarriages, which might occaſion My troubles, that You may avoid them.

Never repoſe ſo much upon any mans ſingle counſell, fidelity, and diſcretion, in managing affaires of the firſt magnitude, (that is, matters of Religion and Juſtice) as to create in Your ſelfe, or others, a diffidence of your owne judgement, which is likely to be alwaies more conſtant & impartiall to the intereſts of Your Crowne and Kingdome than any mans.

Next

Next, beware of exaſperating any Factions by the croſneſſe, and aſperity of ſome mens paſſions, humours, or private opinions, imployed by You, grounded onely upon the differences in leſſer matters, which are but the skirts and ſuburbs of Religion.

Wherein a charitable connivence and Chriſtian toleration often diſſipates their ſtrength, whom rougher oppoſition fortifies; and puts the deſpiſed and oppreſſed Party, into ſuch Combinations, as may moſt enable them to get a full revenge on thoſe they count their Perſecutors, who are commonly aſſiſted by that vulgar commiſeration, which attends all, that are ſaid to ſuffer under the notion of *R*eligion.

Provided the differences amount not to an inſolent oppoſition of Lawes, and Government, or Religion eſtabliſhed, as to the eſſentials of them, ſuch motions and minings are intolerable.

Alwaies keep up ſolid piety, and thoſe fundamentall Truths (which mend both hearts and lives of men) with impartiall favour and juſtice.

Take

Take heed that outward circumstances and formalities of Religion devoure not all, or the best incouragements of learning, industry, and piety; but with an equall eye, and impartiall hand, distribute favours and rewards to all men, as you find them for their reall goodnesse both in abilities and fidelity worthy and capable of them.

This will be sure to gaine You the hearts of the best, and the most too; who, though they be not good themselves, yet are glad to see the severer waies of virtue at any time sweetned by temporall rewards.

I have, You see, conflicted with different and opposite Factions; (for so I must needs cal and count al those, that act not in any conformity to the Lawes established, in Church and State) no sooner have they by force subdued what they counted their Common Enemy, (that it, all those that adhered to the Lawes, and to me) and are secured from that feare, but they are divided to so high a rivalry, as sets them more at defiance against each other, than against their first Antagonists.

Time will dissipate all factions, when

when once the rough hornes of private mens covetous and ambitious designes, shall discover themselves; which were at first wrapt up & hidden under the soft and smooth pretensions of Religion, Reformation, and Liberty: As the Wolfe is not lesse cruell, so he will be more justly hated, when he shall appeare no better than a Wolfe under Sheeps cloathing.

But as for the seduced Traine of the Vulgar, who in their simplicity follow those disguises: my charge and counsell to You, is, That as You need no palliations for any designes, (as other men) so that you study really to exceed (in true and constant demonstrations of goodnesse piety, and virtue, towards the People) even all those men, that make the greatest noise and ostentations of Religion; so You shall neither feare any detection, (as they doe, who have but the face and maske of goodnesse) nor shall You frustrate the just expectations of Your People who cannot in Reason promise themselves so much good from any Subjects novelties, as from the vertuous constancy of their King.

when

When these mountaines of co
gealed factions shal by the sunshine
Gods mercy , and the splendor
Your virtues be thawed and dissipa
ted ; and the abused Vulgar shal
have learned , that none are gre
ter Oppressours of their Estates
Liberties , and Consciences , tha
those men , that entitle themselves
The Patrones and Vindicators
them , onely to usurp power ove
them ; Let then no passion betra
You to any study of revenge upo
those , whose owne sinne and foll
will sufficiently punish them in du
time.

But as soone as the forked arrow
factious emulations is drawn out, u
all princely arts , and clemency t
heale the wounds : that the sma
of the cure may not equal the angui
of the hurt.

I have offered Acts of Indempnit
and Oblivion , to so great a latitud
as may include all , that can but su
pect themselves to be any way o
noxious to the Laws , and whic
might serve to exclude all future le
lousies and insecurities.

I would have You alwaies prope
to the same way , when ever it sh

be desired and accepted, let it be granted, not onely as an Act of State-policy and necessity, but of Christian charity and choice.

It is all I have now left Me, a power to forgive those, that have deprived Me of all; and I thanke God, I have a heart to doe it; and joy as much in this grace, which God hath given Me, as in al My former enjoyments; for this is a greater argument of Gods love to Me, than any prosperity can be.

Be confident (as I am) that the most of all sides, who have done amisse, have done so, not out of malice, but mis-information, or mis-apprehension of things.

None will be more loyall and faithfull to me and You, than those Subjects, who sensible of their Errours, and our Injuries, will feel in their owne Soules most vehement motives of repentance: and earnest desires to make some reparations for their former defects.

As Your quality sets You beyond any Duell with any Subject; so the nobleness of Your mind must raise You above the meditating any revenge, or executing Your anger upon the many.

The more conſcious You ſhall be to Your owne merits, upon Your People, the more prone You will be to expect all love and loyalty from them; and to inflict no puniſhment upon them for former miſcarriages You will have more inward complacency in pardoning one, than in puniſhing a thouſand.

This *I* write to you, not deſpairing of Gods mercy, and my Subjects affections towards You; both which, I hope You will ſtudy to deſerve, ye We cannot merit of God, but by h owne mercy.

If God ſhall ſee fit to reſtore Me and You after Me, to thoſe enjo ments, which the Lawes have aſſigne to us; and no Subjects without a high degree of guilt and ſinne can de veſt us of; then may I have better o portunity, when I ſhall be ſo happ to ſee You in peace, to let You mo fully underſtand the things that b long to Gods glory, Your own h nour, and the Kingdoms peace.

But if You never ſee My face gaine, and God will have Me bur in ſuch a barbarous Impriſonme and obſcurity, (which the perſe ting ſome mens deſigns doth requi

wherein few hearts that love me are permitted to exchange a word, or a look with me; I doe require and entreat You as your Father, and your KING, that You never suffer Your heart to receive ỹ least check against or disaffection from the true Religion established in the Church of *England*.

I tell You I have tried it, and after much search, and many disputes, have concluded it to be the best in the world; not onely in the Community, as Christian, but also in the speciall notion, as Reformed, keeping the middle way between the pomp of superstitious Tyranny, and the meanesse of fantastique Anarchy.

Not but that (the draught being excellent as to the maine, both for Doctrine and Government, in the Church of *England*) some lines, as in very good figures, may happily need some sweetning, or polishing; which might here have easily been done by a safe and gentle hand; if some mens precipitancy had not violently demanded such rude alterations, as would have quite destroyed all the beauty and proportions of the whole.

The ſcandall of the late Troubles, which ſome may object, and urge to You againſt the Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed in *England*, is eaſily anſwered to them, or Your owne thoughts in this, That ſcarce any one who hath been a Beginner, or an active Proſecutor of this late warre againſt the Church, the Lawes, and Me, either was, or is a true Lover, Embracer, or Practiſer of the Proteſtant Religion, eſtabliſhed in *England*: which neither gives ſuch rules, nor ever before ſet ſuch examples.

'Tis true, ſome heretofore had the boldneſſe to preſent threatning Petitions to their Princes and Parliaments, which others of the ſame Faction (but of worſe Spirits) have now put in execution: but let not counterfeit and diſorderly Zeale abate Your value and eſteem of true piety: both of them are to be knowne by their fruits; the ſweetneſſe of the Vine & Figtree is not to be deſpiſed, though ſ Brambles and Thornes ſhould pretend to beare Figs and Grapes, therefore by to rule over the Trees.

Nor would I have You to entertain any averſation, or diſlike of Parliaments; which in their right conſtitution

wit

with Freedome and Honour, will never injure or diminish Your greatnesse, but will rather be as interchangings of love, loyalty, and confidence, between a Prince, and his People.

Nor would the events of this black Parliament have been other than such (how ever much biassed by Factions in the Elections) if it had been preserved from the insolencies of popular dictates, and tumultuary impressions: The sad effects of which will no doubt, make all Parliaments after this more cautious to preserve that Freedome, and Honour, which belongs to such Assemblies (when once they have fully shaken off this yoke of Vulgar encroachment) since the publique interest consists in the mutuall and common good both of Prince and People.

Nothing can be more happy for all, than in faire, grave, and Honourable waies to contribute their Counsels in Common, enacting all things by publique consent; without tyranny or Tumults. We must not starve our selves, becaus some men have surfeited of wholsome food.

And if neither I, nor You, be ever restored to Our Rights, but God in

his severest justice, will punish my Subjects with continuance in their sinne, and suffer them to be deluded with the prosperity of their wickednesse; I hope God will give me, and You, that grace, which will teach and enable Vs, to want, as well as to weare a Crowne, which is not worth taking up, or enjoying upon sordid, dishonourable, and irreligious tearms.

Keep You to true principles of piety, vertue, and honour, You shall never want a kingdome.

A principall point of Your honour will consist in Your deferring all respect, love, and protection to Your Mother, My Wife; who hath many waies deserved wel of Me, and chiefly in this, that (having been a means to blesse me with so many hopefull Children; (all which, with their Mother, I recommend to Your love, and care) She hath been content with incomparable magnanimity and patience to suffer both for, and with me, and You.

My prayer to God Almighty is, (what ever becomes of me, who am, I thank God, wrapt up and fortified in my own Innocency, and his Grace) that he would be pleased to make

You

You an Anchor, or Harbour rather to these tossed and weather-beaten Kingdomes; a Repairer by Your wisdome, justice, piety, and valour, of what, the folly and wickednesse of some men have so farre ruined, as to leave nothing entire in Church or State; to the Crown, the Nobility, the Clergy, or the Commons; either as to Lawes, Liberties, Estates, Order Honour, Conscience, or Lives.

When they have destroyed me, (for I know not how farre God may permit the malice and cruelty of My Enemies to proceed, & such apprehensions some mens words and actions have already given Me) as I doubt not but my bloud will cry aloud for vengeance to heaven; so I beseech God not to poure out his wrath upon the generality of the People, who have either deserted me, or engaged against me, through the artifice and hypocrisie of their Leaders, whose inward horrour will be their first Tormenter, nor will they escape exemplary judgments.

For those that loved me, I pray God, they may have no misse of me, whē I am gone; so much I wish & hope

that al good Subjects may be ſatisfied with the bleſſings of Your preſence and virtues.

For thoſe that repent of any defects in their duty toward me, as I freely forgive them in the word of a Chriſtian KING, ſo I believe You will find them truly Zealous, to repay with intereſt that loyalty and love to You, which was due to Me.

In ſumme, what good I intended, doe You performe; when God ſhall give You power: much good I have offered, more I purpoſed to Church and State, if times had been capable of it.

The deception will ſoone vaniſh, and the Vizards will fall off apace; This maske of Religion on the face of Rebellion (for ſo it now plainly appears, ſince My Reſtraint and cruell uſage, that they ſought not for Me, as was pretended) wil not long ſerve to hide ſome mens deformities.

Happy times, I hope, attend You, wherein Your Subjects (by their miſeries) will have learned, That Religion to their God, and Loyalty to their King, cannot be parted without both their ſin and their

their infelicity.

I pray God bleſſe You, and eſtabliſh Your Kingdomes in Righteouſneſſe, Your Soule in true Religion, and Your honour in the love of God and Your people.

And if God will have diſloyalty perfected by my deſtruction; let my memory ever, with my name, live in you; as of Your Father, that loves You: and once a KING of three flouriſhing Kingdomes; whom God thought fit to honour, not onely with the Scepter and Government of them, but alſo with the ſuffering many indignities, and an untimely death for them; while I ſtudied to preſerve the rights of the Church, the power of the Lawes, the honour of My Crowne, the priviledge of Parliaments, the liberties of my People, and my owne Conſcience, which, I thank God, is dearer to me than a thouſand Kingdomes.

I know God can, I hope he yet will reſtore me to my Rights, I cannot deſpaire either of his mercy, or of my peoples love and piety.

At worſt, I truſt I ſhall but go before you to a better Kingdome, which God hath prepared for me, & me for it

through My Saviour Iesus Christ, to whose mercies I commend You and all Mine.

Farewell, till We meet, if not on Earth, yet in Heaven.

28. *Meditations upon Death after the Votes of Non-Addresses, and* His Majesties *closer Imprisonment in* Carisbrooke-Castle.

AS I have leisure enough, so I have cause more than enough, to meditate upon, and prepare for My Death: for I know, there are but few steps between the Prisons and Graves of Princes.

It is Gods indulgence, which gives me the space, but Mans cruelty, that gives me the sad occasions for these thoughts.

For, besides the common burthen of

of mortality, which lies upon me, as a man; I now bear the heavy load of other mens ambitions, fears, jealousies and cruel passions, whose envy or enmity against me makes their owne lifes seem deadly to them, while I enjoy any part of mine.

I thank God, my prosperity made me not wholly a Stranger to the contemplations of mortality:

Those are never unseasonable, since this is alwaies uncertaine: Death being an eclipse, which oft happeneth as wel in clear as cloudy daies.

But my now long and sharp adversity hath so reconciled in me those naturall Antipathies between Life and Death, which are in all men, that I thank God, the common terrors of it are dispelled; and the speciall horrour of it, as to My particular, much allayed: for, although my death at present, may justly be represented to me with al those terrible aggravations, which the policy of cruell and implacable enemies can put upon it, (affaires being drawn to the very dregs of malice) yet I blesse God, I can look upon all those stings, as unpoysonous, though sharp; since My Redeemer hath either pulled them out

out, or given Me the antidote of his Death againſt them; which as to the immaturity, unjuſtice, ſhame, ſcorne, and cruelty of it exceeded, whatever I can feare.

Indeed, I never did find ſo much, the life of Religion, the feaſt of a good Conſcience, and the brazen wall of a judicious integrity and conſtancy, as ſince I came to theſe cloſer conflicts with the thoughts of Death.

I am not ſo old, as to be weary of life; nor (I hope) ſo bad, as to be either afraid to die, or aſhamed to live: true, I am ſo afflicted, as might make Me ſometime even deſire to die; if I did not conſider, That it is the greateſt glory of a Chriſtians life to *die daily*, in conquering by a lively faith, and patient hopes of a better life, thoſe partiall and quotidian deaths, which kill us (as it were) by piecemeales, and make us overlive our owne fates; while We are deprived of health, honour, liberty, power, credit, ſafety, or eſtate; and thoſe other comforts of deareſt relations, which are as the life of our lives.

Though, as a KING, I think My ſelf to live in nothing temporal ſo much, as in the love and good-will of

of My People; for which, as I have suffered many deaths, so I hope I am not in that point as yet wholly dead: notwithstanding, My Enemies have used all the poyson of falsity and violence of hostility to destroy, first the love and Loyalty, which is in My Subjects, and then all that content of life in Me, which from these I chiefly enjoyed.

Indeed, they have left Me but little of life, and only the husk and shell (as it were) which their further malice and cruelty can take from Me; having bereaved Me of all those worldly comforts, for which life it self seems desirable to men.

But, O My Soule! think not that life too long, or tedious, wherein God gives thee any opportunities, if not to doe, yet to suffer with such Christian patience and magnanimity in a good Cause, as are the greatest honour of our lives, and the best improvement of our deaths.

I know that in point of true Christian valour, it argues pusillanimity to desire to die out of wearinesse of life; and a want of that heroick greatnesse of spirit which becomes a Christian in the patient and generous sustaining

taining those afflictions, which as shadows necessarily attend us, while we are in this body; and which are lessened or enlarged as the Sun of our prosperity moves higher, or lower: whose totall absence is best recompensed with ỹ Dew of Heaven.

The assaults of affliction may be terrible, like *Sampson's* Lyon, but they yeild much sweetnesse to those, that dare to encounter and overcome them; who know how to overlive the witherings of their Gourds without discontent or peevishnesse, while they may yet converse with God.

That I must die as a Man, is certain; that I may die a King, by the hands of My own Subjects, a violent, sodain, and barbarours death; in the strength of My years; in the midst of My Kingdoms; My Friends and loving Subjects being helplesse Spectators; My Enemies insolent Revilers and Triumphers over Me, living, dying, and dead, is so probable in humane reason, that God hath taught me not to hope otherwise, as to mans cruelty; however, I despaire not of Gods infinite mercy.

I know My Life is the object of the Devils & wicked mens malice; but yet

yet under Gods sole custody & dispo-
sall: Whom I do not think to flatter
for longer life by seeming prepared to
die; but I humbly desire to depend
upon him, and to submit to his will
both in life & death, in what order
soever he is pleased to lay them out to
Me. I confesse it is not easie for Me
to contend with those many horrours
of death, wherewith God suffers Me
to be tempted; which are equally
horrid, either in the suddennesse of a
barbarous Assasination; or in those
greater formalities, whereby My E-
nemies (being more solemnly cruell)
will, it may be, seeke to adde (as
those did, who Crucified Christ) the
mockery of Justice, to the cruelty
of Malice: That I may be destroyed,
as with greater pomp and artifice, so
w lesse pity, it will be but a necessary
policy to make my death appeare as
an act of Justice, done by Subjects
upon their Soveraigne; who know ŷ
no Law of God or Man invests them
with any power of Iudicature with-
out Me, much lesse against Me: and
who, being sworn and bound by all
that is sacred before God and man, to
endeavour My preservation, must pre-
tend Iustice to cover their Perjury.

It

It is, indeed, a sad fate for any man to have his Enemies to be Accusers, Parties, and Judges, but most desperate, when this is acted by the insolence of Subjects against their Soveraigne; wherein those, who have had the chiefest hand, and are most guilty of contriving the publique Troubles, must by shedding My bloud seem to wash their own hands of that innocent bloud, whereof they are now most evidently guilty before God and man; and I believe in their owne consciences too, while they carried on unreasonable demands, first by Tumults, after by Armies. Nothing makes meane spirits more cowardly-cruell in managing their usurped power against their lawfull Superiours, than this, the *Guilt of their unjust Vsurpation*; notwithstanding, those specious and popular pretensions of Justice against Delinquents, applied onely to disguise at first ỹ monstrousnesse of their designes, who despaired, indeed, of possessing the power and profits of the Vineyard, till the Heire, whose right it is, be cast out and slaine.

With them, My greatest fault must be, that I would not either destroy

My

My ſelf with the Church and State by My Word, or not ſuffer them to do it unreſiſted by the Sword, whoſe covetous ambition no Conceſſions of mine could ever yet, either ſatisfie, or abate.

Nor is it likely they will ever think, that kingdom of brambles, which ſome men ſeek to erect (at once, weak, ſharp, and fruitleſſe, either to God or men) is like to thrive till watered with the Royall blood of thoſe, whoſe right the kingdom is.

Well, Gods will be done, I doubt not but my Innocency will find him both my Protectour, and my Advocate, who is my onely Judge, whom I own as King of Kings, not only for the eminency of his Power and Majeſty above them; but alſo for that ſingular care and protection, which he hath over them: who knows them to be expoſed to as many dangers (being the greateſt Patrons of Law, Juſtice, Order, and Religion on earth) as there be either Men or Devils, which love confuſion.

Nor will he ſuffer thoſe men long to proſper in their *Babell*, who build it with the bones and cement it with the blood of their Kings.

I am confident they will find Ave
gers of My death among themſelve
the injuries I have ſuſtained fro
them ſhall be firſt puniſhed by them
who agreed in nothing ſo much as i
oppoſing Me.

Their impatience to hear the lou
cry of My blood, ſhall make the
think no way better to expiate i
then by ſhedding theirs, who wit
them, moſt thirſted after Mine.

The ſad confuſions following M
deſtruction, are already preſaged an
confirmed to Me by thoſe I have live
to ſee ſince my troubles; in which
God alone (who only could) hat
many wayes pleaded My cauſe; n
ſuffering them to go unpuniſhe
whoſe confederacy in ſinne was the
only ſecurity; who have cauſe
fear that God will both further
vide, and by mutuall vengeance, afte
ward deſtroy them.

My greateſt conqueſt of Death
from the power and love of Chri
who hath ſwallow'd up death in t
victory of his Reſurrection, and t
glory of his Aſcenſion.

My next comfort is, that he giv
me not only the honour to imitate
example in ſuffering for righteouſn
ſa

ſake, (though obſcured by the fouleſt charges of Tyranny and Injuſtice) but alſo, that charity, which is the nobleſt revenge upon, and victory over My Deſtroyers: By which, I thank God, I can both forgive them, and pray for them, that God would not impute my bloud to them further then to convince them, what need they have of Chriſts bloud to waſh their ſoules from the guilt of ſhedding Mine.

At preſent, the will of My Enemies ſeems to be their onely rule, their power the meaſure, and their ſucceſſe the Exactor, of what they pleaſe to call Iuſtice; while they flatter themſelves with the fancy of their owne ſafety by My danger; and ſecurity of their lives & deſignes by My Death: forgetting, that as the greateſt temptations to ſinne are wrapped up in ſeeming proſperities, ſo the ſevereſt vengeances of God are then moſt accompliſhed, when men are ſuffered to compleat their wicked purpoſes.

I bleſſe God, I pray not ſo much, that this bitter cup of a violent death may paſſe from Me, as that that of his wrath may paſſe from all thoſe, whoſe hands by deſerting Me, are ſprinkled, or by acting and con-

ſenting to My death are embrue
with My blood.

The will of God hath confined, an
concluded Mine; I ſhall have the ple
ſure of dying, without any pleaſure
deſired vengeance.

This I think becomes a Chriſti
toward his Enemies, and a King t
ward his Subjects.

They cannot deprive Me of mo
then I am content to loſe, when G
ſees fit by their hands to take it fro
Me, whoſe mercie I beleeve, w
more then infinitely recompen
what ever by mans injuſtice h
pleaſed to deprive me of.

The glory attending my death w
farre ſurpaſſe all I could enjoy, or co
ceive in life.

I ſhall not want the heavy and e
vied Crowns of this world, when
God hath mercifully crowned a
conſummated his graces with glo
and exchanged the ſhadows of
earthly Kingdoms among men,
the ſubſtance of that heavenly ki
dom with himſelf.

For the cenſures of the world
know the ſharp and neceſſary tyran
of my Deſtroyers will ſufficiently co
fute the calumnies of tyranny agai

M

Me ; I am perſwaded I am happy in
he judicious love of the ableſt and
eſt of my Subjects, who do not only
ity and pray for me, but would bee
ontent even to die w̃ me, or for me.

Theſe know , how to excuſe my
ailings, as a man, and yet to retain, and
ay their duty to me as their King;
here being no religious neceſſity bin-
ling any Subjects by pretending to
uniſh, infinitely to exceed, the faults
nd errours of their Princes; eſpecially
here, where more then ſufficient ſatiſ-
action hath been made to the Pub-
ick; the enjoyment of which private
mbitions have hitherto fruſtra-
ed.

Others, I beleeve, of ſofter tempers,
nd leſſe advantaged by my ruine, do
lready feel ſharp convictions , and
ome remorſe in their conſciences;
where they cannot but ſee the pro-
portions of their evill dealings againſt
ne in the meaſure of Gods retaliations
pon them, who cannot hope long to
njoy their own thumbs and toes, ha-
ing under pretence of paring others
nailes been ſo cruell as to cut off their
chiefeſt ſtrength.

The puniſhment of the mor einſo-
ent and obſtinate may be like that of

Korah and his Complices (at once m
tining againſt both Prince & Prie
in ſuch a method of divine juſtice,
is not ordinary; the earth of the lo
eſt and meaneſt people opening up
them, and ſwallowing them up i
juſt diſdain of their ill gotten a
worſe-uſed Authority: upon wh
ſupport and ſtrength they chiefly d
pended for their building and eſta
liſhing their deſigns againſt Me, t
Church, and State.

My chiefeſt comfort in death co
ſiſts in My peace, which I truſt,
made with God; before whoſe ex
Tribunall I ſhall not fear to appe
as to the Cauſe ſo long diſputed
the Sword, between me and my ca
leſſe Enemies: where I doubt n
but his righteous judgement will c
fute their fallacy, who from wor
ſucceſſe (rather like Sophiſters, t
ſound Chriſtians) draw thoſe popu
concluſions for Gods approbatio
their actions; whoſe wiſe provide
(we know) oft permits many eve
which his revealed Word (the
clear, ſafe and fixed rule of good a
ons and good conſciences) in no
approves.

I am confident the Juſtice of

Ca

Cauſe, and clearneſſe of My Conſci-
nce before God and toward my Peo-
le will carry me, as much above
hem in Gods diviſion, as their ſucceſſes
have lifted them above me in ỹ Vulgar
opinion: who conſider not, that ma-
ny times thoſe undertakings of men
are lifted up to Heaven in the proſ-
perity and applauſe of the world,
whoſe riſe is from Hell, as to the in-
juriouſneſſe and oppreſſion of the
deſigne. The proſperous winds
which oft fill the ſayles of Pirats, doth
not juſtifie their piracy and rapine

I look upon it with infinite more content and quiet of Soule, to have been worſted in my enforced conteſtation for, and vindication of the Laws of the Land, the freedome and honour of Parliaments, the rights of my Crown, the juſt liberty of my Subjects, and the true Chriſtian Religion in its Doctrine, Government and due encouragements, then if I had, with the greateſt advantages of ſucceſſe, overborne them all; as ſome men have now evidently done, whatever deſignes they at firſt pretended.

The prayers and patience of my Frieds & loving Subjects will contribute

bute much to ỹ ſweetning of this b
ter cup, which I doubt not but I ſha
more cheerfully take, and drink
from Gods hand (if it muſt be ſo) the
they can give it to me, whoſe hand
are unjuſtly and barbarouſly lifte
up againſt me.

And, as to the laſt event, I ma
ſeem to owe more to my Enemie
then my Friends; while thoſe will pu
a period to the ſinnes and ſorrows at
tending this miſerable life; wherewit
theſe deſire, I might ſtill con
tend.

I ſhall be more then Conqueror
through Chriſt enabling me; fo
whom I have hitherto ſuffered: as h
is the Author of Truth, Order, an
Peace; for all which, I have bee
forced to contend againſt Erroun
Faction, and Confuſion.

If I muſt ſuffer a violent death
with my Saviour, it is but mortalit
crowned with martyrdom: wher
the debt of death, which I owe fo
ſinne to nature, ſhall be raiſed, as a gif
of faith and patience offered t
God.

Which I humbly beſeech him mer
cifully to accept; and although death
be the wages of My own ſinne,
a

as from God, and the effect of others sinnes, as men, both against God and me; yet as I hope my own sinnes are so remitted, that they shall be no ingredients to imbitter the cup of my death, so I desire God to pardon their sinnes, who are most guilty of my destruction.

The Trophees of my charity will be more glorious and durable over them, then their ill-managed victories over me.

Though their sin be prosperous, yet they had need to be penitent, that they may be pardoned: Both which, I pray God they may obtain; that my temporall death unjustly inflicted by them, may not be revenged by Gods just inflicting eternall death upon them: for I look upon the temporall destruction of the greatest King, as far lesse deprecable, then the eternall damnation of the meanest Subject.

Nor do I wish other, then the safe bringing of the ship to shore, when they have cast me overboard; though it be very strange, that Mariners can find no other means to appease the storm, themselves have raised, but by drowning their Pilot.

I thank God, my Enemies cruelty cannot prevent my preparation; whose malice in this I shall defeat, ỹ they shall not have the satisfaction to have destroyed my Soul with my Body; of whose salvation, while some of them have themselves seemed, and taught others to despaire, they have only discoverd this, that they do not much desire it.

Whose uncharitable and cruell Restraints, denying me even ỹ assistance of any of my Chaplains, hath rather enlarged, than any way obstructed my accesse to the Throne of Heaven.

Where thou dwellest, O King of Kings, who fillest Heaven and Earth, who art the fountaine of eternall life, in whom is no shadow of death.

Thou O God art both the just Inflicter of death upon us, and the mercifull Saviour of us in it, and from it.

Yea, it is better for us to be dead to our selves, and live in thee; then by living in our selves to be deprived of thee.

O make the many bitter aggravations of My death as a Man, and a King, the opportunities and advantages of thy speciall graces and comforts in My Soule, as a Christian.

If

If thou Lord wilt be with Me, I ſhall neither feare nor feel any evill, though I walke through the valley of the ſhadow of death.

To contend with death is the worke of a weake and mortall man; to overcome it, is the grace of thee alone, who art the Almighty and immortall God.

O My Saviour, who knoweſt what it is to die with Me, as a Man; make Me to know what it is to paſſe through death to life with thee My God.

Though I die, yet I know, that thou my Redeemer liveſt for ever: though thou ſlayeſt Me, yet thou haſt incouraged me to truſt in thee for eternall life.

O withdraw not thy favour from me, which is better than life.

O be not farre from me, for I know not how neer a violent & cruell death is to me.

As thy Omniſcience, O God, diſcovers, ſo thy Omnipotence can defeat the deſignes of thoſe, who have, or ſhall conſpire my deſtruction.

O ſhew me the goodneſſe of thy will, through the wickedneſſe of theirs.

Thou giveſt me leave as a man to pray, that this cup may paſſe from me; but thou haſt taught Me as a Chriſtian by the example of Chriſt to add, not My will, but thine be done.

Yea

Ioa Lord, let our wills be one, by wholly resolving mine into thine, let not the desire of life in me be so great, as that of doing or suffering thy will in either life or death.

As I believe thou hast forgiven all the errours of my life, so I hope thou wilt save me from the terrours of my death.

Make me content to leave the worlds nothing, that I may come really to enjoy all in thee, who hast made Christ unto me in life, gaine; and in death, advantage.

Though my Destroyers forget their duty to thee and me, yet doe not thou, O Lord, forget to be mercifull to them.

For, what profit is there in my blood, or in their gaining my Kingdomes, if they lose their owne Soules?

Such as have not onely resisted my just Power, but wholly usurped and turned it against my self, though they may deserve, yet let them not receive to themselves damnation.

Thou madest thy Sonne a Saviour to many, that Crucified Him, while at once he suffered violently by them, and yet willingly for them.

O let the voice of his blood be heard for My Murtherers, louder than the cry of mine against them.

Pre

Prepare them for thy mercy by an convictions of their sinne, and let them not at once deceive and damne their own Soules by fallacious pretensions of Iustice in destroying me, while the conscience of their unjust usurpation of power against me, chiefly tempts them to use all extremities against me.

O Lord, thou knowest I have found their mercies to me as very false, so very cruell; who pretending to preserve me, have meditated nothing but my ruine.

O deale not with them as bloud-thirsty and deceitfull men; but overcome their cruelty with thy compassion and my charity.

And when thou makest inquisition for My bloud, O sprinkle their polluted, yet penitent Soules with the bloud of thy Sonne, that thy destroying Angel may passe over them.

Though they think my Kingdomes on earth too little to entertaine at once both them and me, yet let the capacious Kingdome of thy infinite mercy at last receive both me and my enemies.

When being reconciled to thee in the bloud of the same Redeemer, we shall have farre above these ambitious desires, which beget such mortall enmities.

When their hands shall be heaviest, and cruel

cruellest upon me, O let me fall into thy
armes of thy tender and eternall mercies
That what is cut of my life in this miserable moment, may be repaied in thy ever blessed eternity.
Lord, let thy Servant depart in peace, for my eyes have seen thy salvation.

Vota dabunt, quæ bella negarunt.

PRAIERS
Used by his
MAJESTIE
In the time of his
Sufferings

Delivered to Doctor Juxon Bishop
of London immediately
before his death.
Also a letter from the Prince

O Powerfull and eternal god
to whom nothing is so great
that it may resist; or so
small that it is contemned;
look upon my Miserie
with thine eye of mercy; and
let thine infinite power
vouchsafe to limit out some
proportion of deliverance unto
me, as to thee shall seem
most convenient: let not
Injurie O Lord triumph over
me; and let my faults by thy
hand be corrected; and make
not my unjust enemies the
ministers of thy Justice:

BRITISH MUSEUM

But yet my God, if this in
thy wisdom, be the aptest chas-
-tisement for my unexcusable
transgressions: if this ingrate
-full bondage be fittest for my
over high desires; if the pride
of my (not enough humble)
heart be thus to be broken;
O Lord I yield unto thy will,
and cheerfully embrace what
sorrow thou wilt have me
suffer: only thus much let
me crave of thee (let my cra-
-ving, O Lord, be accepted of
since it proceeds from thee)
that by thy goodness which is
in thy self, thou wilt suffer
some beams of thy majesty
so to shine in my mind, that
I, who in my greatest afflictio
acknowledge it my Noblest Title
to be thy Creature, may still de-
-pend confidently on thee.
Let calamities be the exercise

but not the overthrow of my vi-
ue. O let not their prevailing
power be my destruction.
And if it be thy will that they
more and more be come with
punishment; yet Lord,
never let their wickedness
have such a hand but that I
may still carry a pure mind
and stedfast resolution ever
to serve thee, without fear
or presumption; yet with
that humble confidence of
may best please thee. So that
in the last, I may come to Thy
eternal Kingdom through the
merits of thy Son our alone
Saviour Jesus Christ — Amen

A Prayer

and confession made [illegible]
for the times of affliction
Almightie. and most mer-
cifull Father, as it is only thy
goodness that admits of our

imperfect prayers; & the knowledge that thy mercies are infinite, which can give us any hope of thy accepting or granting them; so it is our bounden and necessary duty to confess our sins freely unto thee and of all mere living, I have most need most reason so to do no man having been so much obliged by thee, no man more grievously offending thee: the degree of knowledge which thou hast given me adding likewise to the guilt of my transgressions. For was it through ignorance that I suffered innocent blood to be shed by a false pretended way of justice? Or that I permitted a wrong way of my worship to be set up in Scotland? and injured the Bis-

+

ps in England? O no; but
with shame and grief I
confess, that I therein fol-
lowed the persuasions of
worldly wisdom, forsaken-
ing the dictates of a right
informed conscience.
Therefore O Lord I have no
excuse to make, no hope
left but in the multitude
of thy mercies; for I know
my repentance weak, and
my prayers faulty: Grant
therefore, mercifull Father,
to strengthen my repen-
tance, and amend my prai-
ers, that thou maist clear
the way for thine own mer-
cies; To which O let thy jus-
tice at last give place,
putting a speedy end to my
deserved afflictions. In the

mean time give me Pa-
-tience to endure, Con-
-stancy against tempta-
-tions, and a discerning
spirit to chuse what is
for thy Church and People
which thou hast commit-
-ted to my charge. Grant
this O mercifull Father, for
Thy sonfesus Christ's sake,
our only Saviour — Amen.

A PRAYER
in time of
CAPTIVITY.

O Most mercifull Father,
though My Sins are so ma-
-ny and grievous, that I
may rather expect the
effects of thy anger, then
so great a deliverance as
free me from my present
great

danger; yet I lord since
thy mercies are over all
thy works, and thou never
failest to relieve all those
who with humble and un-
-feigned repentance come
to thee for succour, it were
to multiply, not diminish
my transgressions, to despair
of thy heavenly favor: wher-
-fore I humbly desire thy
Divine Majesty, that thou
wilt not only pardon all
my sins, but also free me
out of the hands, and pro-
-tect me from the malice
of my cruel enemies. But
if thy wrath against my
pajnous offences will not
otherwise be satisfied

then by suffering me to fall
under my present afflictions,
Thy will be done; yet with
humble importunity, I do &
shall never leave to implore
the assistance of thy heaven-
-ly spirit, that my cause,
as I am thy vicegerent, may
not suffer through my
weakness or want of courage.
O Lord so strengthen and en-
-lighten all the faculties of
my Minde, that with
clearnesse I may shew
forth thy truth, and man-
-fully endure this bloody
Triall; that so my suffering
here may not only glorifie
thee; but likewise be a fur-
-therance to my salvation

hereafter. Grant this O
mercifull Father, for his
sake who suffered for me
even Jesus Christ the righ-
-teous. Amen.

"Munday 29 January 1648".
A true relation of the
King's speech to the Lady
Elisabeth & the Duke of
Gloucester, the day before
His death.
His children being come
to meet him, He first
gave his blessing to the
Lady Elizabeth; and bad
her remember to tell her
brother James, whenever
she should see him that
it was his Fathers last
desire

that he should no more look upon Charls as his eldest Brother only, but he declined unto him, as his Soveraign; and that they should love one another and forgive their Fathers Enemies. Then said the King to her "Sweet heart "you'll forget this." No, said she "I shall never forget "it while I live: and pouring forth abundance of tears, promised him to write down the particulars.

Then the King taking the Duke of Glocester upon his knee, said, Dear "heart now they will be

"off thy Fathers head"; (upon
which words the childe
looked very stedfastly on
him) "Mark childe what
"I say. They will cut off
"my head, and perhaps
"make thee a king: But
"marke what I say, you
"must not be a king so
"long as your brothers, Charls
"and James, do live; For
"they will cut off your
"brothers heads (when they
"can catch them) and
"off thy head too at the
"last: and therefore I
"charge you, do not be
"made a king by them"
At which the childe sigh-
-ing said, "I will be torn
"in pieces first." Which

parting so unexpectedly from one so young, it made the king to grieve exceedingly. ——

Another relation from the Lady Elizabeth's own hand.

What the King said to me the 29th of January 1648: being the last time I had the happiness to see him; He told me he was glad I was come, and although he had not time to say much, yet somewhat he had to say to me which he had not to another, or leave in writing, he could be

feared their cruelty was
such as that they would
not have permitted him
to write to me. He wish-
-ed me not to grieve
and torment myself for
him; for that would be
a glorious death that
he should die; it being
for the laws and liberties
of this land and for
~~maintaining the true pro-~~
-testant religion. He
bid me read Bp. Andrews
Sermons, Hookers Eccles-
-iasticall Politie, and Bp.
Lauds Book against
Fisher, which would ground
me against popery. He
told me he had forgiven
all his enemies, and hoped

3

God would forgive them
also; and commanded us
and all the rest of my bro-
-thers and Sisters to forgive
them. He bid me tell my
Mother that His thoughts
had never strayed from
her, and that his love shou
be the same to the last -
Withall He commanded
me and my brother to be
obedient to her. And bid
me send his blessing to
the rest of my Brothers &
Sisters, with commendation
to all his friends: so after
He had given me his bless-
-ing I took my leave.

Further, he commanded
us all to forgive those people
but never to trust them; fo

they had been most false to him, and to those that gave them power, and he feared for to their own souls: and desired me not to grieve for him, for He should die a Martyr, and that he doubted not but the Lord would settle his Throne upon his son and that we should be all happier, than we could have expected to have been, if He had lived — With many other things which at present I cannot remember. — Elizabeth

Another relation from the Lady Elizabeth

The King said to the Duke of Glocester, that he would say nothing to him, but what was for the good of his soul: He told him that he heard

the Army intended to make him King; but it was a thing not for him to take upon him, if he regarded the welfare of his soul; for he had two brothers before him, and therefore commanded him upon his Blessing never to accept of it, unless it were demanded lawfully upon him and commanded him to fear the Lord, and he would provide for him.

A Copy of a Letter which was sent from the Prince to the King, dated from the Hague Jan 23. 164

Sir

Having no means to come to the knowledge of your Majesties present

condition; but such
receive from the Prints, or
(which is as uncertain) Re-
port. I have sent the bear-
er Seamour to a [illegible] upon
your Majesty; and to bring
me an account of it: That
I may withall assure your
Majesty, I do not only pray
for your Majesty according
to my Duty; but shall alwaies
be ready to do all which shall
be in my power, to deserve
that Blessing which I now
humbly beg of your Majesty
upon. Sir,

Your Majesties most
humble and most
obedient son and servant

Hague
Jan 23. 1648 CHARLES.

The superscription was thus
FOR THE KING.

Madan 38

This appeal to his people from the unfortunate Charles was publish'd soon after his death & had an unexampled Sale (no less than 48,500 Copies) - The pen of Milton was employed by the new Rulers to answer it - Much has been written to shew that the "Icon" was not the production of the King, but that Dr Gauden B.p. Exeter was the author - That person certainly claimed it as his but his right to it is discredited. T.M.

Vet B3 9. 9 R.

Εικὼν Βασιλικὴ.

THE POURTRAICTURE Of His Sacred MAIESTIE IN His Solitudes AND SVFFERINGS.

ROM. 8.

More then Conquerour, &c.

Bona agere, & mala pati, Regium est.

HAGE.
Printed by Samuell Broun.
M. DC. XLVIII.

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IMMOTA FRIUMPHANS
CRESCIT SUB
ONDERE VIRTUS

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ERRATA.

Page, 100 line 1 *for* qarrell. *read* quarrell.
Page, 126 line 13 *for* Conſiderations *read* Confæderations.
Page, 193 line 18 *for* abuſet *read* abuſes.
Page, 194 line 23 *for* releite *read* releiſe.

EIKΩN BAΣIΛIKH,

1. *Vpon His* MAJESTIES Calling this Last PARLIAMENT.

THis last Parliament I called, not more by others advise, and necessity of My affaires, then by My owne choice and inclination; who have alwayes thought the right way of Parliaments most safe for My Crown, and best pleasing to My People: And although I was not forgetfull of those sparks, which some mens distempers formerly studied to kindle in Parliaments, (which by forbearing to conveen for some yeares, I hoped to have extinguished) yet resolving with My self to give all just satisfaction to mo-

deſt and ſober deſires, and to redreſſe all publique grievances in Church and State; I hoped (by My freedom and their moderation) to prevent all miſ-underſtandings, and miſcarriages in this: In which as I feared affaires would meet with ſome paſſion & prejudice in other men, ſo I reſolved they ſhould finde leaſt of them in My ſelf; not doubting, but by the weight of Reaſon I ſhould counterpoize the over-ballancings of any factions.

I was, indeed, ſorry to hear, with what partiality and popular heat Elections were carried in many places; yet hoping that the gravity and diſcretion of other Gentlemen would allay and fix the Commons to a due temperament, (guiding ſome mens well-meaning zeall, by ſuch rules of moderation as are beſt both to preſerve and reſtore the health of all States and Kingdomes:) No man was better pleaſed with the conveening of this Parliament, then My ſelf; who knowing beſt the largeneſſe of My own Heart, toward My Peoples good and juſt contentment, pleaſed My ſelf moſt in that good and firm underſtanding, which would hence grow between Me and My People.

A

All Jealousies being laid aside, My own and My Childrens Interests gave me many Obligations to seek and preserve the love and welfare of my Subjects. The onely temporall blessing that is left to the ambition of just Monarchs, as their greatest honour and safety, next Gods protection; I cared not to lessen my self in some things of My wonted Prerogative; since I knew I could be no loser, if I might gain but a recompence in my Subjects affections.

I intended not onely to oblige My friends, but Mine enemies also: exceeding even the desires of those, that were factiously discontented, if they did but pretend to any modest and sober sense.

The *odium* and offences which some mens rigour or remissnesse in Church, and State, had contracted upon my Government, I resolved to have expiated by such Lawes, and regulations for the future, as might not only rectifie what was amisse in Practise, but supply what was defective in the Constitution: No man having a greater zeall to see Religion setled, and preserved in Truth, Unity, and Order, then my self; whom it most concernes

both in piety, and policy; as knowing that No flames of civil dissentions are more dangerous then those which make Religious pretensions the grounds of Factions.

I resolved to reform, what I should by free & full advice in Parliament be convinc'd to be amisse; & to grant whatever My Reason and Conscience told Me, was fit to be desired; I wish I had kept My self within those bounds, & not suffered My own Judgement to have been over-born in some things, more by others Importunities, then their Arguments; My confidence had lesse betrayed My self, and my Kingdomes, to those advantages, which some men sought for, who wanted nothing but power, and occasion to do mischief. But our sinnes being ripe, there was no preventing of Gods Justice, from reaping that glory in our Calamities, which we robb'd him of in our Prosperity.

For thou (O Lord) hast made us see, that Resolutions of future Reforming do not alwayes satisfie thy Justice, nor prevent thy Vengeance for former miscarriages.

Our sinnes have overlaid our hopes:

Thou

Thou haſt taught us to depend on thy mercies to forgive, not on our purpoſe to amend.

When thou haſt vindicated thy glory by thy Judgements, and haſt ſhewed us, how unſafe it is to offend thee, upon preſumptions afterwards to pleaſe thee; Then I truſt thy mercies will reſtore thoſe bleſſings to us, which we have ſo much abuſed, as to force thee to deprive us of them.

For want of timely repentance of our ſinnes, Thou giveſt us cauſe to Repent of thoſe Remedies wee too late apply.

Yet I do not Repent of My calling this laſt Parliament; becauſe, O Lord, I did it with an upright intention, to thy glory, and My Peoples good.

The miſeries which have enſued upon Mee and My Kingdomes, are the Juſt effects of thy diſpleaſure upon us; and may be yet (through thy mercy) preparatives of us to future bleſſings, and better hearts to enjoy them.

O Lord, though thou haſt deprived us of many former comforts; yet grant Me and My People the benefit of our afflictions, and thy chaſtiſements; that thy rod as well as thy ſtaffe may comfort us: Then ſhall we dare to account

them the strokes not of an Enemy, but a Father: when thou giveſt us thoſe humble affections, that meaſure of patience in repentance, which becomes thy Children; I ſhall have no cauſe to repent the miſeries this Parliament hath occaſioned, when by them thou haſt brought Me and My People, unfeignedly to repent of the ſinnes we have committed.

Thy Grace is infinitely better with our ſufferings, then our Peace could be with our ſinnes.

O thou ſoveraigne goodneſſe and wiſedom, who over-ruleſt al our counſels; overrule alſo all our hearts; That the worſe things we ſuffer by thy Juſtice, the better we may be by thy Mercy.

As our ſinnes have turned our Antidotes into Poyſon, ſo let thy Grace turne our Poyſons into Antidotes.

As the ſins of our Peace diſpoſed us to this unhappy Warre, ſo let this Warre prepare us for thy bleſſed Peace.

That although I have but troubleſome Kingdems here, yet I may attaine to that Kingdome of Peace in My Heart, and in thy Heaven, which Chriſt hath purchaſed, and thou wilt give to thy Servant (though a Sinner) for my Saviours ſake.

2. *Vpon the Earle of* Straffords *death.*

I Looked upon my Lord of *Strafford* as a Gentleman, whose great abilities might make a Prince rather afraid, then ashamed to employ him, in the greatest affaires of State.

For those were prone to create in him great confidence of undertakings, and this was like enough to betray him to great errours, and many enemies: Whereof he could not but contract good store, while moving in so high a spheare, and with so vigorous a lustre, he must needs (as the Sun) raise many envious exhalations, which condensed by a popular *odium*, were capable to cast a cloud upon ỹ brightest merit, and integrity.

Though I cannot in My Iudgment approve all he did, driven (it may be) by the necessities of times, and the Temper of that People, more then led by his owne disposition to any height and rigour of actions: yet I could never be convinced of any such criminousnesse in him, as willingly to expose his life to the stro'.e of Iustice, and malice of his enemies.

I never met with a more unhappy conjuncture of affaires, then in the busineſſe of that unfortunate Earle: when between My owne unſatisfiedneſſe in Conſcience, and a neceſſity (as ſome told me) of ſatisfying the importunities of ſome people; I was perſwaded by thoſe, that I think wiſhed me well, to chuſe rather what was ſafe, then what ſeemed juſt; preferring the outward peace of My Kingdoms with men, before that inward exactneſſe of Conſcience before God.

And indeed I am ſo farre from excuſing or denying that complyance on My part (for plenary conſent it was not) to his deſtruction, whom in My Judgement I thought not, by any cleare Law, guilty of death: That I never bare any touch of Conſcience with greater regret: which, as a ſigne of My repentance, I have often with ſorrow confeſſed both to God and men, as an act of ſo ſinfull frailty, that it diſcovered more a feare of Man, than of God, whoſe name and place on Earth no man is worthy to beare, who will avoid inconveniences of State, by acts of ſo high injuſtice, as no publique convenience can expiate or compenſate.

I ſee

I see it a bad exchange to wound a mans owne Conscience, thereby to salve State sores, to calme the stormes of popular discontents, by stirring up a tempest in a mans owne bosome.

Nor hath Gods Justice failed in the event and sad consequences, to shew the world the fallacy of that Maxime, *Better one man perish (though unjustly) then the people be displeased, or destroyed.* For,

In all likely hood, I could never have suffred, with My People, greater calamities, (yet with greater comfort) had I vindicated *Strafford's* innocency at least by denying to Signe that destructive BILL, according to that justice, which My conscience suggested to Me, then I have done since I gratified some mens unthankfull importunities with so cruel a Favour. And I have observed, that those, who counselled Me to signe that Bill, have been so farre from receiving the rewards of such ingratiatings with the People, that no men have been harassed and crushed more than they: He onely hath been least vexed by them, who counselled Me, not to consent against the vote of My owne Conscience. I hope God hath forgiven Me and